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*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in
relation to Burma and neighbouring Countries.*

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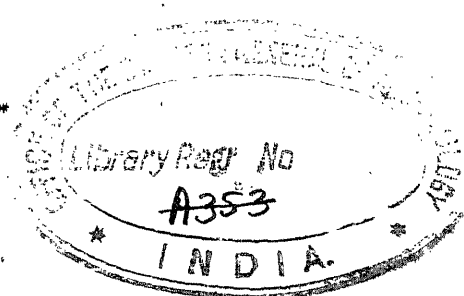
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J. B. R. S.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN BURMA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA.*

BY L. F. TAYLOR.

1. It has become a sound and almost universal practice of bodies of persons united in a common activity, from time to time to review their progress and to estimate the extent of their attainments or achievements. A commercial company or Government Department will present its periodical report, and a learned Congress or Association will publish its account of the advance of Science. Our own concern is Research, which we have defined in our rules as "the study and encouragement of Art, Science, History and Literature in regard to Burma". It is fitting, therefore, that we now survey our own position, summarizing the present state of our knowledge and estimating our own share in its attainment. It will not be desirable to limit our view to the activities of the Burma Research Society, for we, although members, regard ourselves as Researchers first, and our Society only exists to help us to further our aims and to enable us to co-operate with our fellow members and with similar societies in other places.

In this paper I shall confine myself to one department of Science and shall endeavour to give a very general review of the present state of Ethnological and Linguistic Research *activity* in Burma and South-East Asia. This will be followed by an outline scheme for the co-ordination of our future activities, and a plea for the furtherance of such activities in the form of a reply to the question "What's the use of it all?" In another paper, on another occasion, I shall consider the various indigenous peoples of Burma and surrounding countries in detail and shall state briefly what we know about each of them. The second paper, therefore, will be a review of our *attainments*.

And now a last word before I broach my subject. Art, History, Literature and Science are vast subjects. We want to know something of the progress made in all these spheres of knowledge. I hope that we shall, before long, hear papers summarizing our knowledge of Buddhist and non-Buddhist Art and Architecture, of Burmese History and Literature and of some of the many branches of Science that lie outside the scope of the present paper.

2. The peoples and languages in which we are interested are spread over a very wide area:—From Chota Nagpur in the West to Easter Island in the East, from Manchuria in the North to New Zealand in the South. This area includes Tibet, China, North-East India, Indo-China, the Malayan Archipelago and the whole of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The problem of research in Burma is bound up with that of

* A paper read at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, on Friday, February 10, 1922.

research in other parts of this vast area. The races that we find here are to be found elsewhere; the languages that we hear are but dialects of more widely spread tongues; while the customs and culture belong to various strata which we may readily recognise in Tibet, Borneo or the New Hebrides.

If we wish to study profitably the Ethnology or languages of Burma we must pay some attention to the investigations of others in other and more distant parts of the field, for human history is not a dead thing that can be dissected into bits like the arms or legs of a corpse in a medical school. We are interested, not in isolated and unmeaning shells which once held life, but in life itself and its activities.

3. Since we are, in the present paper, restricted in our scope to research activity,—leaving attainment or the results of such activity to be dealt with later,—we may now look around us and see what is being done in other countries. We must be prepared to judge our own efforts by those of our neighbours and must not be deterred even if the comparison is not very flattering.

Philippine Islands.

In the Philippines Ethnology and Linguistics have been recognised for many years. The Americans, early in their administration of the Islands, instituted a Bureau for the study of Non-Christian Tribes. This later became the Department of Ethnology in the Bureau of Science. When I was there in 1913 the Department possessed an excellent Museum on which it spent large sums of money, it employed five whole time Ethnologists and an expert American photographer. Finally, in the "Journal of the Bureau of Science" it published the results of its investigations and made them accessible to the world.

Java

The Dutch have always regarded Ethnology and Language study as subjects of administrative importance, and trained officers have been sent to make investigations in many parts of the Malay Archipelago. At Batavia there is the "Society of Arts" with its excellent museum as one of the visible results. The published activities of many years are bewildering in their extent, but their quality is good and the volumes contain many monographs of the first importance.

Sarawak.

In Sarawak on the North coast of Borneo we find another centre of activity. Rajah Sir Charles Brooke long ago built a Museum which has been enlarged and steadily developed. Its curators are generally trained Zoologists, but they are expected to take an interest in the various Tribes of the Raj. It publishes a Journal to which many of the District Officers—who live among the people—contribute. Articles have been contributed also to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and a large work in two volumes has been compiled by Dr. Charles Hose (late Resident of the

Baram District) and Dr. McDougall of Oxford University. Its title "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo" is an index to its contents. Before passing on I must refer to Ling Roth's great compilation "The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo." Much of the material was collected by the officers of the country, though non-official investigators have added their quota.

Malay States and Straits Settlements.

When we set foot upon the mainland of Asia we discover more signs of activity. In Singapore there is the Raffles Museum. Further north are the Museums of Kuala Lumpur and Taiping. The Curators are highly trained Englishmen, one of whom is primarily an Ethnologist. The collections taken together are of great value and reflect credit on the administrations that have supported them. The officials of Malaya have always attached importance to the value of Ethnology and have encouraged its study in every way. The Hon'ble Mr. R. J. Wilkinson (late Colonial Secretary) published a series of handbooks on the customs of the inhabitants for the information and guidance of newly appointed Officers. The great publications, however, are Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula" and the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. But we must not overlook the older works of Crawfurd, Raffles and Marsden, and Logan's "Journal of the Indian Archipelago."

Siam.

Of research activities in Siam I am much less competent to speak. There is, of course, the Siam Society at Bangkok, and there are numerous books written by European Officers in the Siamese Service—Gerini, Graham and Warrington Smith are names in point. I think, however, that research is less advanced in Siam than in many of the other countries that I have referred to.

French Indo-China.

The French are great researchers and explorers. The Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient at Hanoi is an institution of the first order. It was founded by the Governor-General M. Doumer in 1898 and was intended to be of the same quality as the similar schools at Athens, Rome and Cairo. Archaeology is, of course, one of its great departments, but Ethnology, Philology, Art and Literature are all well attended to. The account that I shall now give is based on some notes that I jotted down in 1916 immediately after paying a visit to the School where I was welcomed and shown round by Professor Maspero.

(a) *Establishment.* The School is under the direct control of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres which appoints the Director as well as the permanent members and "pensionnaires" or "savants en mission". The permanent members are appointed for a term of six years and look after the different departments of the School's work. The pensionnaires are appointed for terms of one year, indefinitely renew-

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able, and come out to study and carry out research. Besides the French staff, educated natives are employed who act as assistant librarians and cataloguers and who prove capable colleagues in philological investigations.

In 1916 the School received from the Government of French Indo-China a grant of 90,000 piastres, approximately 1,35,000 rupees. Before the war, the grant was, I believe, 125,000 piastres, or more than a lakh and a half of rupees per annum.

(b) *Functions.* The functions of the School are three: first it is an institute of research: it contributes by the works and publications of its members to the study of archaeology, epigraphy, ethnography, history, religion, folklore, institutions and languages and literatures of Indo-China and India and the Far East. Secondly, it proposes measures necessary for the safeguarding and conservation of the historical monuments of Indo-China and assists in carrying them out. It also collects and saves objects of art and value which it exhibits in its central and lesser museums. Lastly, it was intended, right from the commencement, that it would be of great service to Government in teaching indigenous languages to newly arrived officials and acquainting them with the customs of the people over whom they have been called to rule. Activities are carried on in the library, the museum and in the field.

(c) *Personnel.* The Director is in direct charge. The permanent staff consists of—

- (i) three members placed in charge of the three principal branches of research, *vis.*, (a) Chinese, (b) Annamese, (c) Indian Civilizations;
- (ii) an Archaeologist placed in general charge of ancient monuments and excavation work;
- (iii) a Curator in charge of the ruins at Angkor, under the direction of the Archaeologist;
- (iv) a member to look after the library and to act as Secretary controlling the inner administration of the School.

The pensionnaires help these gentlemen to carry out their work and researches. There are also delegates who assist in preserving the ancient monuments, and there are educated natives who help in the library and elsewhere. In the task of preservation the Director is further helped by two "Commissions des Antiquités."

(d) *Library and Museum.* The library is virtually the headquarters of the School and contains the offices and books. It is one of the most important libraries in the Far East. From the point of view of Oriental studies it is one of the most valuable in the world. It contains more than 6,000 volumes in European languages chosen with a view to the special studies and researches carried out in the School. There are more than 2,000 Chinese books, 1,200 Japanese books and nearly 1,500 Annamese books and manuscripts. The Annamese collection is of

particular importance, for many of the finest works in the language have never been printed and manuscripts of them are getting more and more scarce. The collection ensures that such works will never entirely disappear. The library also contains a number of rubbings, squeezes and manuscript copies of Cambodian, Laotian, Cham and Talaing inscriptions and a particularly fine collection of Annamese inscriptions.

The Museum at Hanoi is the headquarters museum, but there are branch museums at other capitals of French Indo-China, for instance at Pnom-penh and Tourane for ancient sculptures found in the locality, and another local museum is to be founded at Vieng-chan to represent Lao civilization. In Cochinchina there is the separate Museum of the Société des Etudes Indochinoises but this maintains close relations with the Ecole. The tendency has thus been followed of creating a number of local branches, each in the centre of a particular civilization and each one representing that civilization as far as possible.

For these reasons the Museum at Hanoi, though full of Annamese, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean and Japanese specimens, is only able to exhibit from Cambodia and Champa a few small pieces too precious to be left in local museums without adequate protection.

The Hanoi Museum is divided into a series of galleries, each of which is named after some great Frenchman who gave up his life in Indo-China for the sake of science or country, and also after some members of the School who have died in its service. Thus we come across the "Salle de Henri Mouhot" or of Francis Garnier, of Doudart de Lagrée or of some other great man. Within these galleries are arranged bronzes, ceramics, inscriptions, carvings, paintings, pre-historic implements and other objects of all the countries of Indo-China, and, in addition, of Japan, China, Tibet, Korea and India. The entire collection is undoubtedly one of the choicest and most valuable in the East. Most of the specimens were acquired directly by the School by purchase or by its members whilst travelling and exploring. Specimens from Burma were largely obtained through the instrumentality of the French Consul.

(c) *Results.* The excellent work that has already been accomplished may be shown under three heads: (i) The library and museum are among the finest in the East, or, as far as Oriental studies go, in the world. The School is therefore one of the best Oriental research institutes in the world. (ii) The School is held in very high repute by all bodies devoted to Oriental learning and by Oriental scholars. (iii) Its publications of original work are enormous. It issues quarterly a Bulletin, two parts of which make a volume. It has already published thus nearly forty bulky volumes.

I have given this account at some length because the Ecole is a model of what a School of Research should be. Its influence has radiated far and one cannot enter a French bookshop in Hanoi without beholding a number of monographs for sale written by French Military Officers and others on the Tribes and Languages of Indo-China and Yunnan. The

prices to be paid for them are so moderate as to suggest that they are widely purchased and read.

India.

We now come to the Indian Empire. Much has been done and much has been published, but the field is so vast that our investigations are still fragmentary and incomplete. The Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has published results for more than a century, including many papers contributed by that great scholar Dr. Brian Hodgson. Nevertheless our ignorance still exceeds our knowledge. Learned societies have sprung up in many parts, but they are like lighthouses round a coast—many sources of illumination in the great dark. Fortunately the Indian Government long ago recognized that some form of co-ordination was necessary and, besides embodying much Anthropological material in its various Census Reports, it has instituted extensive Surveys in Archaeology, Ethnology, and Languages. These have justified their undertaking and we now have the voluminous and well digested publications of the Archaeological Department, of the Linguistic Survey of India and of the Ethnological Survey. The first two of these are so well known that I need say nothing more about them. The Ethnological Survey deserves to be equally well known. It was sanctioned in May 1901. In every important Province a Superintendent was appointed ~~whose duties were to make the necessary new investigations and to collect the results of previous investigations.~~ The scheme was a great success and to it we owe the following works :—

“The Tribes and Castes of Bengal,” by Sir H. Risley, in 4 volumes.

“The Tribes and Castes of the North-West Province,” by Crooke, 4 volumes.

“The Castes and Tribes of Southern India,” by Thurston, 6 volumes.

“The Glossary for Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province,” by Rose.

“The Ethnographical Survey of the Central Indian Agency” by Capt. Louard.

“The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces” by Russell.

The “Bulletins” of Mysore and Cochin and some monographs in the Bombay Presidency. (The publications of the Assam Government I shall refer to later).

Some of the Indian Universities have now taken up Ethnology. The Patna University has founded a Readership; the Calcutta University has appointed permanent Lecturers and Readers. Bombay, Madras and Mysore are making arrangements to follow suit. “Till now, however, it is in Calcutta alone that the establishment of a School of Anthropology with an Ethnological Museum and a good anthropological Library

is an accomplished fact". Those interested in the growth of such studies in India are referred to an excellent article entitled "Anthropological Research in India" by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in his new Journal "Man in India" from which I have derived considerable information.

Assam.

In Assam, much of this extensive work had been done long ago by Dalton in his great compilation "The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal". (This work has now become scarce but copies will be found in the Bernard Free Library). Consequently the Province was ready to undertake work of an intensive nature, and to this readiness we owe the excellent series of monographs that is appearing on the Khasis, Meithei, Mikirs, Garos, Nagas, Kacharis, Lushai-Kukis and other peoples of the Province. These studies are models of their kind and are the fruits of proper ethnological method.

Burma.

And now, at last, we come to our own part of the world. How has research fared here? In the old days it prospered. One has only to read the articles on Burma in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago and in the Journal of the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to realize this. The names of Leyden, Bishop Bigandet, Dr. Mason, Dr. Judson, Dr. Cushing, of O'Riley, Colquhoun, Forbes, Phayre, Yule, Crawford and others also come to mind. Much was accomplished at a time when conditions were bad and investigation difficult. As conditions improved the spirit of inquiry faded. This is a phenomenon that seems to be manifested wherever the British have spread and seems to be characteristic of us as a race. Here we are in a land abounding with interesting peoples and relics of bygone civilization, in a land which is one of the most important and interesting regions ethnologically and philologically in the world, and what are we doing? Is our backwardness our own fault or is misfortune to blame for it? Let us consider.

One thing at any rate has been done. We have our Archaeological Department making heroic efforts to carry out a task for which it is understaffed and underpaid. The Department possesses the spirit but not the resources. It is not for me to apportion blame, but it is permissible to hope that Burma will soon be free to spend more of her own resources upon her own development and that archaeological conservation will be carried on upon a scale commensurate with its needs. However, I am now drifting away from my subject and must come back to Ethnology and Languages.

I have already referred to the Linguistic and Ethnological Surveys of India and I would very much like to say something in regard to our provincial contributions to the undertakings. But this is impossible. The sad fact cannot be concealed. We have made no contributions,

A well known maxim instructs us, when anything is wrong, to "blame the Government". But is the Government to blame? Is it fair, in this instance, to do so? Burma was intentionally excluded from the area covered by the operations of the Linguistic Survey of India. At the time when the survey was instituted, Burma was so little known that a detailed survey would not have been feasible. In the words of the 1911 Census Report: "It was considered that the state of knowledge of the numerous languages and dialects of the province was too immature to form the basis of an accurate and authoritative survey". This point is emphasized by Sir George Grierson who has pointed out that in the case of India grammars and dictionaries of the most important languages were available but that in Burma very few of these most indispensable guides are even now to be found. Government, therefore, was wise in keeping out of the Survey. Work must be well done and authoritative or it will prove a waste of funds.

Sir George Grierson recently commenced to supplement the Linguistic Survey of India by a Gramophone or Phonetic Survey. The Burma Government, realizing that the time had come to do something, joined in this work and a set of records in 29 different languages of the Province has been prepared. The study of these languages has been advanced and the results will be published and will be open to all. This does not indicate a remiss and supine attitude.

In the matter of the Ethnological Survey we have been ~~unfortunate~~. The Burma Government went to the extent of appointing an Honorary Superintendent for the work contemplated in 1901. But our knowledge at that time was so immature, the number of interested workers so small, and the officer in question was so busy with census and other duties, that the result was almost nothing. We must therefore attribute our failure to unfavourable conditions obtaining at the time rather than to any lack of interest on the part of Government.

Even after this comparative failure, Government tried again. They approached many experienced people on the project of writing a series of monographs on the Tribes of Burma, similar to those published under the auspices of the Government of Assam, but though some interest was manifested only two monographs have yet been printed, namely, those on the Talaiings and Shans. A third, on the Karens, is now in the press.

It therefore happens that, whereas other Provinces have completed their extensive Surveys and are ready to engage in intensive work (in Assam, a considerable number of intensive studies have already been published), Burma has not even commenced her extensive Survey, and such a Survey is an almost necessary preliminary to more exact and detailed study.

And now we may consider ourselves. The Burma Research Society has had eleven years of life. We have held our meetings and published our Journal. We have accomplished a good deal of work, but our activities have been rather sporadic and unconnected. We can claim that we have

done something to spread the spirit of Research and we have increased our membership and drawn people from all communities into our fold. We can be satisfied with our past provided we make good use of our future. We have, as members, many learned missionaries, government officers of every race, and members of the commercial world. Some of these are at Headquarters, but a large number is spread out over the Districts. Is it too much to hope that many of these will do something if we can put a properly co-ordinated scheme of work before them? If every such member will but contribute a few bricks a structure may be raised, and is not this the principle upon which some of the great pagodas were built? Co-operation is the secret of success and members will gladly help when they realize that their work will not be wasted but will form part of an organized effort. I will now give, in outline, a plan of a practical and feasible Anthropological Survey which will depend for its success upon Government's assistance and the efforts of private persons and government officials. The appeal is to men of every race who share a common love for things Burmese and a common interest in the growth of knowledge, and the activity is one in which educated Burmans and Karens ought to take a prominent part.

OUTLINE OF AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA.

4. We must now regard Ethnology and Linguistics in their setting as aspects of a comprehensive whole. Anthropology is, in its widest sense, the science of man: his body, his mind and his achievements. For our present purpose we shall divide it into three departments.

- (i) Physical anthropology,
- (ii) Cultural anthropology, commonly called Ethnology,
- (iii) Linguistics.

Physical anthropology deals with the position of man in the animal kingdom, with the peculiarities of his physical structure and with the characteristics of, and differences between, the various races of mankind.

Ethnology deals with man as a racial unit, *i.e.*, his development through the family and tribal stages into national life and with the distribution over the earth of the races and nations thus formed. It investigates food, weapons, tools, housing, social, economic and commercial organization, forms of Government, Art, Literature, Morals, administration of Justice, Superstitions and Magical and Religious Rites. In short it studies the effects of environment upon man and man's conquest over, or submission to, his environment.

Linguistics deals with the various methods that man has practised of expressing his thoughts. It studies, compares and classifies the various forms of articulate speech that are found wherever there is a human community.

For the purpose of classifying races and tribes and peoples it is necessary to undertake investigations in all three branches of enquiry.

One branch alone is usually quite insufficient. A people may change its language completely or it may change its culture. Where should we find ourselves if we were to classify the Negroes of North America by their speech only? or even by their speech and culture together?

The only thing that Negroes have retained in common with their cousins in Africa is their physical identity. The conclusion to be drawn from this illustration, and from many others that could be given, is, that we must study language, culture and physical appearance together before we attempt any classification that can claim to be final. This is particularly the case in Burma. The Burmese language and the Buddhist religion were once extremely localised. The language and religion spread under the political domination of a capable and determined but numerically small people until it had absorbed and Burmanised the majority of its neighbours. This process is still very much in evidence to-day. Their physical descent is the only thing that is left to many of our present-day Burmans that connects them with their non-Burmese ancestry. It is here that we must rely chiefly upon physical anthropology to throw light on the past.

5. *Anthropometrical Survey.* Many of us can, at a glance, distinguish a Sgaw Karen from a Burman or from a Kachin. The differences are less than those between a Punjabi and an Englishman and a Burman, but they are nevertheless real. The peculiarities by which we distinguish the Burman from the Karen may be hard to define but they are capable of measurement. Peoples merge into one another and hard and fast boundaries may not exist, but nevertheless definable types exist. If we were to make a physical study of male Sgaw Karens we would probably measure say 100 male adults of the race in each of the Districts where they live. The measurements would be those likely to give the best results. We would for each District estimate our averages and calculate the standard deviations and thereby obtain figures defining our types and the strength of the tendency to depart from type. These measurements would also be accompanied by photographs of individuals who were fairly true to type.

We might find that the averages for the different Districts were nearly the same and would conclude that the race had remained comparatively pure, or we might discover considerable differences in type in different localities which we would attribute to racial mixture. In this way, for the purpose of our Survey, we would prepare sets of measurements of all the other races, and interpret our figures for each in the light of possible mixture. The outcome of this work would give us a classification of peoples according to their racial descent. Skin colour and texture, hair colour and texture, and eye colour would also fall within the Survey. Since work of this kind can only be carried out by a competent investigator who would require time and opportunity, I will say nothing more about it.

6. *Cultural Ethnology.* The first necessity is an extensive Survey as a basis for future work. We want a printed work that will bring

together the facts scattered through hundreds of books and Government reports, that shall, in short, be compiled from all sources of information hitherto available. This work I have been attempting to do myself and already it occupies some hundreds of typewritten pages, but much remains to be done. I suggest that members might help by sending me copied abstracts from books or by bringing to my notice items of information otherwise likely to escape my attention. Much can also be ascertained by means of correspondence. Printed questionnaires for particular enquiries can be sent to members in all parts of the country and the answers received can be compared, edited and united in an ever-growing body of information to which all have contributed. Enquiries of this sort, made on an organized plan, inflict very little burden on those who live in the jungles or on the mountains and who occasionally find time hanging heavily over them, but they are most useful for Research. We ought also to open a Museum and request members to send in objects of every kind.

7. *Linguistic Survey.* In linguistic research also much can be done. Printed vocabularies and phrase-books with blank columns and for the purpose designed can be circulated to members afield who would be asked to fill in the equivalent words in the languages of the people among whom they find themselves. The replies can be investigated and useful results should follow. Instead of a few workers working on different and unrelated systems, we would have many workers sending in equivalents for the same set of English words so that direct comparisons could be easily made.

8. Investigations of the kind I have outlined would constitute an extensive Survey. Then we would proceed to intensive work. This will be most important, for extensive work fails to furnish "that detailed exposition of kinship, organization and social system, primitive ideas, usages and customs, religious beliefs and ritual, superstitions and folklore, which is needed for the purpose of scientific Anthropology". As a descriptive catalogue it will have its own value and will "serve as a useful base for more detailed studies of the various interesting individual castes and tribes" without which we shall look in vain for adequate materials for science. "An exhaustive collection of complete and well sifted facts, capable of scientific treatment—of being properly classified and viewed in their mutual relations for purposes of generalizations of Science—is the crying desideratum" of Burmese Ethnology.

THE ADVANTAGES AND PURPOSE OF ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY.

9. And now we come to answer the question "what's the use of it all?" The proper answer is to maintain silence. (But I can't do that if I am to read a paper). We know that knowledge is its own reward, but we shall never convince Gallio even though we remind him of such incidents as the fall of an apple, the kicking of the legs of a dead frog or the jumping of the lid of a kettle. He will agree with us when we remind him that "the proper study of mankind is man", but only because he does not wish

to appear uncultured. But he will never set about that study. Just as the little incidents referred to above led to Newton's theory of gravitation, to the development of electrical science and to the exploitation of the powers of steam, and just as the study of germs has led to progress in health and sanitation, so the study of Ethnology will help to bring about peace and progress. Knowledge may have a profound effect upon the mind and upon our views of the universe, as the history of Darwin's discoveries and of the views of Plato and Aristotle has shown. In the same way, a subject that helps us to understand our fellowman and to develop our sympathy towards him and to keep the fact in our memories that we are closely related to him cannot fail to be productive of good.

I would even go so far as to say that Ethnology of some sort ought to be a central subject taught in schools. It will give us an enlarged outlook right from the start; it will help us to understand the history of human endeavour and to orientate ourselves in our universe. It is a study of history in its widest sense. Geography has been defined as the study of the stage upon which the human drama is played, Ethnology is a study of the drama itself. History is a specialized study of certain aspects of it.

Tylor describes Anthropology as the "science of Man and Civilization which connects into a more manageable whole the scattered subjects of an ordinary education". He adds: "Much of the difficulty of learning and teaching lies in the scholar's not seeing clearly what each science or art is for, what its place is among the purposes of life. If he knows something of its early history, and how it arose from the simpler wants and circumstances of mankind, he finds himself better able to lay hold of it than when, as too often happens, he is called on to take up an abstruse subject not at the beginning but in the middle." And he refers by way of illustrations to the difficulties of the law student who "plunges at once into the intricacies of legal systems which have grown up through the struggles, the reforms and even the blunders of thousands of years; yet he might have made his way clearer by seeing how laws begin in their simplest forms, formed to meet the needs of savage and barbaric tribes." He concludes "It is needless to make a list of all the branches of education in knowledge and art; there is not one which may not be the easier and better learnt for knowing its history and place in the general science of Man." In short, just as Philosophy has been sometimes defined as the synthesis and unification of the sciences, so Ethnology may be defined as the synthesis and unification of all human institutions.

Even from the point of view of Government, the science would have its use. If, for instance, the general history of administration and of human institutions were taught to senior boys in Schools and to Students in the University, I am sure that nothing but good would result. Those who are by nature intended to become politicians would, at least, act with understanding; and their efforts would be well informed and constructive; those, on the other hand, who have no aptitude for political work would leave politics alone. I have almost gone so far as to urge that the

best way to keep boys away from politics is to teach them politics, but though I may incline to this belief, it is the history of administration throughout the world that I refer to here and not the history of administration in Burma in particular. My point is, of course, that sound perspective will lead to sound actions. A better knowledge of Ethnological facts would also prove beneficial to our statesmen, it would help them to grapple with their problems. Civilization, in Europe for instance, has even reduced itself to discovering and exploiting methods of taking human life. This is because it has not yet succeeded in solving its problems by peaceful methods. With increasing knowledge of human destiny and increasing sympathy with the struggles and difficulties of others, human relationships should improve. Civilization will never deserve its name until it learns to save and not to destroy. One of the great virtues of our science is that it helps us to transcend the narrow national outlook and to realize the Brotherhood of Man.

URGENCY OF RESEARCH WORK IN BURMA.

10. Other countries have left us far behind and pride alone should force us to strain ahead. There are however even more urgent reasons than this for immediate and sustained effort. It is, in a very real sense, a case of now, or never. So rapidly is Buddhism and Burmese culture breaking down what is left of the older social structure and religious beliefs, and so rapidly are the Burmese and Shan languages driving out other forms of speech, that the remains must be studied now if they are to be studied at all. Just consider, for a moment, what we would give for a newly discovered book by Tacitus or Herodotus, something that would restore a past that cannot otherwise be recovered. It is the same thing here and now. The scientist of the twenty-first century will be thankful for everything that we can save and record, and it will be his perpetual regret that we were not more alive to our duties to posterity. Why, with such a field of opportunities before us, did we not take advantage of it? In the outlying parts of the land, every old tribesman, at his death, takes away with him some memory or some knowledge that can never be recovered, and old men do not live long.

We, as Researchers, cannot bring ourselves to agree with Mr. Burgess, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, who, in 1882 with reference to the many languages of the country wrote "—the sooner these relics of the Tower of Babel can be swept away the better." Rather we rejoice that the Tower of Babel is still here, though it is rapidly crumbling into ruins.

BUDDHAGHOSA.

By PE MAUNG TIN.

It is well-known that mind-culture plays an important part in Buddhism. In fact it is not easy to decide whether Buddhism is essentially a religion or a system of philosophy. However that may be, it is certain that no one can achieve anything in practical Buddhism without undergoing a course of mind-culture. Mind-culture proper belongs to the domain of Abhidhamma. English readers—thanks to the translations of Mrs. Rhys Davids and Mr. S. Z. Aung—are acquainted with the contents of two out of the seven Abhidhamma books, namely: the Dhammasaṅgaṇī¹ and Kathāvatthu.² The same scholars have translated also the 12th century manual called Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha.³ Recently Buddhaghosa's commentary⁴ on Dhammasaṅgaṇī was translated by the present writer. This is all that scholarship has achieved so far in Buddhist philosophy. Every new work of translation or annotation that adds to our knowledge should therefore be welcome. Now a work of great importance to Abhidhamma studies is the Visuddhimagga or the Path of Purity by Buddhaghosa. A translation of this work, which has never been translated into any European language, is being undertaken by the Pali Text Society. And we have reason to believe that the first volume of the translation will be issued at no distant date.

Mrs. Rhys Davids who has edited the text speaks of it in the 'Afterword' as 'this extraordinary book' of which 'we might say, within limits, what is said of the Divina Commedia and of the Shakespearean plays: in its pages may be found something on everything, i.e., in the earlier Buddhist literature.' Unfortunately Buddhaghosa tells us little or nothing about himself. The texts such as the Cūḷavamsa and Buddhaghosuppaṭṭi which give us his biography are late works, none of them being earlier than the 13th century. We are thus faced with the task of sifting such evidence as is afforded by his own writings. One thing, however, is certain: no other writer has done such signal service to Buddhist literature. Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Piṭakas are indispensable to a right understanding of Buddhism. But his reticence about himself has created a growth of conflicting statements regarding his life. In fact he is undergoing the fate of popular heroes. The Ceylonese Chronicles⁵ relate that he was born in India and came in the 5th century to Ceylon where he re-translated the Ceylonese Commentaries into Pali, because the original commentaries in Pali had been lost. The

1. A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics by Mrs. Rhys Davids, 1900. Royal Asiatic Society.

2. Points of Controversy, or Subjects of Discourse by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, 1915. Pali Text Society.

3. Compendium of Philosophy by the same, 1910

4. Atthasālinī, The Expositor. 2 Volumes 1920-21, Pali Text Society.

5. *E.g.* Mahāvamsa, quoted in Andersen's Reader 113

authors of Burmese and Talaing Chronicles¹ claim him as their countryman. In Indo-China and Cambodia he is regarded as the Apostle of Buddhism, while the latest study by a well-known French Orientalist² doubts his existence and suggests that Buddhaghosa is only a name assumed by a group of Ceylonese authors. Any internal evidence, therefore, afforded by his writings will carry special weight.

In his prologues to some of his commentaries Buddhaghosa, whoever he was, admits that he based his writings on older materials. Thus, in the introduction to the *Atthasālinī* he tells us that since the original Pali commentaries have perished, he will re-translate into Pali the Ancient Commentary, which was sung at the First Council and was brought to Ceylon and translated into the Ceylonese by Mahinda. Now the tradition that commentaries were known at the time of the First Council is not without foundation, since the habit of commentating even at the time when the *Piṭakas* were put together is shown by the inclusion in the Canon of the Old Commentary on the *Pātimokkha*³. The origin of Buddhist commentaries may be traced to the discussions that form the subject matter of many of the Buddha's dialogues. The Buddha preached at a time when men (and women also) in search of truth roamed about the country discussing questions of ethics and of philosophy with each other among their own sects and with teachers of other sects. And it was the usual thing for him who lost in the discussion to become the disciple of the opponent⁴. Some of these wandering teachers, *Paribbājakas* as they were called, were women. Many of the Buddha's sermons are in the form of dialogues with the Wanderers.

The disciples followed the example of the Buddha's dialogues and expounded their own views which have been preserved in the *Suttas*.⁵ Buddhaghosa himself tells us that 'the textual order of the *Abhidhamma* originated with *Sāriputta*; the numerical series in the Great Book was also determined by him. In this way the Elder, without spoiling the unique doctrine, laid down the numerical series in order to make it easy to learn, remember, study and teach the Law.'⁶ Such expositions of meaning constitute the *Atthakathā* or Commentary. This has been stated concisely by Mrs. Rhys Davids who says in the *Psalm* of the Sisters XV that "the *Atthakathā* or 'talk about the contents, meaning, or purpose' of the work in question was a matter of traditional convention, which individual expounding *Bhikkhus* or *Bhikkunis* might tell in more or less their own words." It was these commentaries in the wide sense that Mahinda is said to have taken to Ceylon and translated into Ceylonese. Buddhaghosa in re-translating them into Pali has restored

1. See *Bhuddhaghosuppatti*, edited and translated by James Gray, London, 1892.

2. L. Finot, *La Légende de Buddhaghosa* in *Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, pp. 101, 119. Paris, 1921.

3. *Sumangalavilāsinī* xi.

4. See for instance the story of *Bhaddā Kundalakesā*, the ex-Jain in *Psalm* of the Sisters, p. 63 f. *Pāli Text Society*, 1909.

5. Such as *Mahākaccāna*'s in *Majjhima Nikāya* I, 110, and *Sāriputta*'s in *Saṅgīti Sutta*, *Dīghanikāya* iii, 207 f.

6. *Expositor* 21.

the original Pali tradition. We know of another Buddhist commentator, Dhammapāla, who, in writing his Commentary on the Psalms, drew on older traditional commentaries.¹ The Visuddhimagga itself which opens with the exposition of a stanza from Samyutta Nikāya might be considered as a commentary in the wide sense. In Burma it is invariably spoken of as Visuddhimagga Atthakathā.² This view is supported by the Samantapāsādikā which was translated into Chinese in 489 A.D. at Canton and which speaks of Visuddhimagga as 'the way to calm' or 'the way to Purity' or sometimes cites it with the general name, 'Abhidharmavibhāsa,' thus indicating 'that it was considered to be a commentary of the Abhidharma.'³

Thus Buddhaghosa was not a mere translator. The extent of his service to Buddhist literature will not be fully known until all his works have been printed, translated and critically studied. Still some attempt at estimating his work may even now be made. The fact that he drew upon older materials which are now lost, is in itself a valuable contribution to Buddhist literature. And we realise this value the more when we consider that in his comments he is giving expression to the views held, since the days of Mahinda in the 3rd century B. C., by the Elders of Mahāvihāra, the Great Minster at Anurādhapura.⁴ We thus see in Buddhaghosa a true representative of Buddhist Commentators, a safe and orthodox guide in the interpretation of the Piṭakas. His learning is displayed in the numerous definitions of words and phrases. A glance through the Expositor will convince the most cursory reader. These word-definitions are of the utmost importance for the right understanding of ultimate truths. His definitions of such terms as 'moral state' and 'time' show his intelligence and philosophical attainments.⁵ His explanations of various doctrinal points are orthodox and helpful to students of Buddhism. For instance the idea underlying the sharing of one's merit or 'transference of merit' as it is popularly known is not understood by some Western scholars.⁶ Buddhaghosa's interpretation is this:

1. Psalms of the Sisters, xviii.

2. See the description to the Burmese MSS. collated by Mrs. Rhys Davids for the Pali Text Society's edition.

3. Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1917-19, p. 75.

4. In the introduction to the Expositor, Buddhaghosa promises to 'illuminate the minds of those who dwell in the Great Minster' and in the Epilogue Buddhaghosa is spoken of as 'a great poet, who is the ornament of the lineage of the Elders resident at the Great Minster who are lamps in the lineage of the Elders.'

5. Expositor 50, 78.

6. 'For example the teaching of the Master was strict on the point that merit is strictly personal. But old India believed that merit, together with its rewards, is something that can be given by one individual to another. A doctrine of the transfer of merit was tacitly lurking in some Buddhist circles and found expression in several passages of the Scripture. We are told that the right means of helping the dead is not to give them offerings, but to make gifts to the living for the dead; that the right means of rendering homage to the deities is not to worship them, but to give them a share in our own pious works. Later the doctrine of the transfer of merit became the leading idea of non-Buddhism (Mahāyāna) and was developed into a dogma comparable, in many respects, to the Christian dogma of the communion of saints.' L. de la Vallée Poussin, The Way to Nirvana, Cambridge, 1917, p. 33.

'The sharing of one's merit as basis of meritorious action should be recognized in the case of one who, having made a gift and an offering of perfume, etc., gives part of his merit thus: "Let this share be for such an one" or "Let this be for all beings!" What, then, will there be loss of merit to him who thus shares what he has attained? No. As when from a burning lamp a thousand lamps were lit, it would not be said that the original lamp was exhausted; the latter light, being one with the former (added) lights, becomes increased, thus there is no decrease in our sharing what we have attained; on the contrary, there is an increase.¹' The simile of the lamp makes it clear that here merit is not something that is given away bodily as implied by the misleading expression 'transfer of merit' but that it is shared by the giver and the recipient through mutual acquiescence in the meritorious act. For virtue in the recipient is as necessary a qualification as 'greatness or nobleness of volition'² on the part of the giver, in the same way that a lamp must be in a fit condition to receive light from another lamp. It is thus that when one injures or misappropriates a work of merit, such as a field or garden dedicated to a pagoda, one runs the risk of incurring the curses of the donor.

Buddhaghosa's similes and stories are always to the point. Such definitions as those of life-taking, theft, etc., leave nothing to be desired³. Dr. Rhys Davids in his appreciative article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* denies originality and independence of thought to Buddhaghosa. Generally speaking, in Buddhism originality in striking out new paths of thought is a lesser achievement than penetration of the truth through the right understanding of the doctrines. Originality in Buddhism, at least in Theravāda, consists in expounding abstruse psychological problems and in purging the dhamma of false conceptions and extraneous matter. And one who puts down an antagonist with such words as 'you are acquainted far too much with the nature of the discipline in that you have enacted laws of offence in matters not enacted by the Teacher. You have accused the perfect Buddha; you have given a blow to the Conqueror's sphere of authority'⁴ cannot have much respect for originality or independence of thought. Such discussions with sectaries and objectors where Buddhaghosa displays his judgment and critical acumen are of constant recurrence.

Buddhaghosa's psychology may be studied in his commentaries. The discussion of the infanticide of Kuḷumpa⁵ and the discourse on *kamma* and 'doors' are examples of his disquisitions.⁶ The word 'door' itself and such other terms as *kalāpa* 'group,' *appanā* 'ecstasy,' *vīthi* 'thought-process,' *tadārammaṇa* 'identification' are not used in the Pīṭakas in a psychological sense⁷. Their settled meaning and frequent use by Buddhaghosa mark the stage that psychology had reached in his time.

1. *Expositor*, 210.

4. *Ib.* 123.

2. *Ib.* 214.

5. *Ib.* 120.

3. *Ib.* 128, 129.

6. *Ib.* 108.

7. See discussion of these terms in *Compendium of Philosophy*.

The tradition that Buddhaghosa was born a brahman is strengthened by the indication in his writings that he was acquainted with the Vedas. He makes reference to the three Vedas¹ and gives a vivid description of one practising Atharva power, i.e., power spoken of in the Atharvaveda.² Such a description could only be given by one who was thoroughly acquainted with Vedic literature. There is evidence also to show his acquaintance with the Sankhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. He lays stress on the difference between the Buddhist conception of Avijjā 'ignorance' and the Pakativādin's conception of Pakati 'original nature' as the *causeless root-cause of the world*. 'What, is ignorance also, like the pakati of pakativādins the causeless root-cause of the world? No, it is not causeless; for the cause of ignorance has been stated thus: ignorance originates through the origination of the intoxicants. But is there any explanation by which there may be a root-cause? What is this?' By way of answer the Buddha's saying³ is quoted: 'The ultimate starting-point, bhikkhus, of ignorance before which it did not exist, but after which it came into being is not revealed⁴.' The Buddhist view of the ultimate starting-point of the world is thus different from the pakati view of the Pakativādins, by whom, no doubt, the Sankhya philosophers are meant. Another reference to the Sankhya may be sought in Buddhaghosa's conception of the relation between nāma and rūpa, a conception which reminds one of the Sankhya definition of the relation between Purusa and Prakriti, since the same simile⁵ of the blind and the lame is used to explain that relation. Further, Buddhaghosa's definition of Samūha, may be compared with Patañjali's definition.⁶

1. As in Visuddhimagga, 394.

2. Here the expression "endowed with power and attained mastery of his will" does not refer to power accomplished by culture but to the power treated of in the Atharvaveda. This is indeed obtainable in this passage. And it is not possible to achieve it without bodily and vocal organs or doors. For those who desire this Atharva power have to practise for seven days such austerities as eating food without salt, and lying on the *ḍabba* grass spread on the ground, and on the seventh day have to go through a certain procedure within the cemetery ground by standing, after taking the seventh step, and swinging the hand round and round while repeating certain formulas; then is their work accomplished.

Expositor, 122.

3. This occurs in Aṅguttara v. 113, Mrs. Rhys Davids in her edition of Visuddhimagga through an oversight registers it as one of the quotations *not traced*.

4. Visuddhimagga 525 And on p. 578 Buddhaghosa proves that the Buddhist conception of *paticca-samuppāda* 'genesis through cause' is not the same as the imaginary conception of *pakati* and *purusa* of the heretics.

5. Visuddhimagga 596, Expositor 370.

6. 'Samaya in the sense of *group* (Samūha) shows the simultaneous occurrence of many states. For an aggregate of states such as contact, etc., is said to be a *group*, the consciousness arising in that group of states arises together with those states. Thus the co-occurrence of many states is shown. By this word showing the nature of the group, the occurrence of one state only is contradicted.' Expositor 81. The definition of Samūha attributed to Patañjali is this: 'A substance is a collection of which the different component parts do not exist separately' (Ayutāsiddha-avayavaheda-anugataḥ Samūho iti Patañjali). The Yoga-system of Patañjali by J. H. Woods, Harvard, 1914, p. xv. See also a suggestive article 'A Note on Buddhaghosa's Commentaries' by Bimala Charan Law in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal XV 1919, p. 107 f.

Buddhaghosa's geographical knowledge is confined to India and Ceylon. He refers to the Ganges and the Godhāvarī,¹ to the lands of the Assaka and Ajaka² and to the Damilas and the Andhas³ besides many places in Ceylon. Although these references are too meagre to prove anything conclusively they may be held to lend support to the tradition that Buddhaghosa was a native of India who went over to Ceylon to write his commentaries.

Now M. Finot in the article cited above doubts this tradition. The first part of the article is taken up with an examination of the sources of our knowledge of Buddhaghosa. The Burmese sources of information are dismissed as of no authority, since 'they are merely an echo of Ceylonese historiography altered by an insatiable national vanity'. This is rather a bold pronouncement, for although the beginnings of Burmese history are lost in legend, an impartial scholar will find a substratum of truth in the history. Besides, considering that no one has yet made a scientific inquiry into the nature of Burmese chronicles and shown their exact relationship to Ceylonese chronicles, a pronouncement such as that of M. Finot is, to say the least, premature, and would be in error if there was any truth in the statement of Forchhammer⁴ that the Burmese chroniclers had confused our Buddhaghosa with a later Buddhaghosa who did go to Ceylon from Burma. However that may be, their claim that Buddhaghosa was a native of Southern Burma is discredited—so far we agree with M. Finot—by the absence of evidence in Buddhaghosa's writings that he is acquainted with places or persons in Indo-China as there is evidence in them of his acquaintance with Ceylon. A casual reference, like the one to Suvannabhūmi,⁵ does not go against the argument, since Buddhaghosa is here quoting the stock list of Buddhist missionaries to various countries and gives no indication of his acquaintance with those countries. We exclude from a discussion of this point the commentaries on the Jātaka and Dhammapada as being, in all probability, not the works of Buddhaghosa.

M. Finot next examines the Ceylonese sources such as the Cūlavamsa, Saddhammasaṅgaha and Buddhaghosuppatti, which are late works and contain much legendary matter. M. Finot has utilized this legendary stuff to show that the tradition that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon from India is only a legend, that the name of Buddhaghosa is not authentic, that it was never known outside of Ceylon and that it is a name assumed by a group of Ceylon writers. He has shown this very ably by setting one legendary passage against another. Unfortunately his conclusions are drawn from a study of those late works on Buddhaghosa and not from a study of his writings themselves. On these writings he admits that he has merely cast a glance, and that only to support his contention. It is

1. Expositor 186

2. Paramatthajotikā II 2, 581.

3. Minoratthapūrāṇi, 58 Ceylon Edition.

4. Quoted by Rhys Davids in his article on Buddhaghosa in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

5. Oldenberg, Vinaya III. 314.

true that the Chinese Pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiuan-tsang make no reference to Buddhaghosa. The value of this negative evidence is questionable. A writer in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*¹ argues that Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon *after* Fa-hian and assigns 483 A.D. as the date of Buddhaghosa's visit. Now we know from Takakusu that the *Samantapāsādikā* was translated into Chinese at Canton in 489 A.D.² Although the two dates leave too little interval of time for an important work like the *Samantapāsādikā*, to have been composed in Ceylon and translated into Chinese at Canton, they show that the whole question about the Chinese Pilgrims on Buddhaghosa is unsettled and any evidence drawn from them is doubtful at present. M. Finot rejects the tradition that the *Samantapāsādikā* was composed by Buddhaghosa on the ground that the author's name is not mentioned in the Chinese translation. But Takakusu tells us that it was not a habit of Chinese translators to mention even the dialects from which the translations were made and that possibly some Buddhist book may refer to Buddhaghosa under another name.³ Since we can know little or nothing about this Chinese *Samantapāsādikā* before the edition promised by Takakusu comes out, we can place no reliance on the negative evidence of the silence of the Chinese translator regarding Buddhaghosa.

Lastly, M. Finot's suggestion that Buddhaghosa is a name assumed by a group of Ceylonese authors who wrote the commentaries attributed to Buddhaghosa not only accuses these Reverend authors of untruth, deceit and hypocrisy, but also attributes to them that egoism, that *attā* which it is their first duty to eradicate. And we know that these commentaries bear ample witness to their moral character and saintly life. The results of this brief study of Buddhaghosa's writings so far edited and translated support the tradition that Buddhaghosa was a native of India, acquainted with the Vedas and Sankhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. We therefore feel justified in the belief that future research will strengthen the tradition that he went over from India to Ceylon where he re-translated the Ceylonese commentaries into Pali.

PE MAUNG TIN.

1. Vol. I pt. 2.

3. I-tsing: *Records of Buddhist Religion*, 217.

1. J. R. A. S 1896, p. 416 f.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF MERGUI.

BY MAUNG KYI O.

The following notes are gleaned from Burmese Manuscripts and will be of some interest to the readers of the Journal. Mergui was formerly known as *Mergi* by Cesare dei Fedrici; as *Mergy* by Van Schonten and as *Myrghy* by Van Vliet—(see "English Intercourse with Siam" by Dr. Anderson). The Siamese name of this town is "Malit" or "Marit" from which the Burmese name "Myeit" is derived. Opinions differ as to the exact meaning of "Marit." A Siamese friend says that it is the name of a Beloo or Ogre who was said to have resided in this place. The meaning which is commonly accepted is a *post to which a horse was tethered*. Like most historical towns, the place could boast of a legend. A king of a certain country fell in love with an ogress who assumed the shape of a very pretty maiden, married and appointed her as one of his queens. By the magic art of this ogress the chief queen became blind. This fact so enraged the prince, her son, that he vowed vengeance on his step-mother. The latter appeased him by a promise of marriage to him with her daughter by a former husband. He was asked to ride on a fairy horse, cross the ocean and see the princess who was residing at a certain island, and give her a certain bottle which was said to contain a message from the mother. The fairy horse flew away carrying the prince on his back. They reached an island at night and the prince went off to sleep there after having tethered his horse. He woke up in the middle of the night and saw a light on an island opposite to the one on which he slept. In the morning he crossed the sea to where the light was seen and there met a certain hermit, who, when he found out the object of the prince's errand, examined the bottle containing the ogress' message or token. In place of the poison with which the prince should be killed by the ogress, was quietly substituted a love philtre, and the hermit returned the bottle. The prince then continued his journey and eventually reached his destination. Thanks to the hermit's kind action the prince was welcomed by the ogress princess, whom he married afterwards. One day he told his wife about his mother's affliction, and asked her if she knew of any medicine which would restore his mother's sight. He was informed that there was a certain lime tree up the river, and the fruit had the power of healing blindness. He then proceeded up the river and reached the place where the miraculous lime tree stood. He took away some fruits and rode back to his mother whose sight he restored by means of the fairy lime fruit.

The town of Mergui now stands at the place where the prince's horse was tethered, and Tenasserim was built at the place where the fairy lime tree was found. The latter is called *Tenau* in Siamese which means lime fruit. In 1686, Tenasserim town was known to the Siamese simply as "Tannaw" (Page 12, "English Intercourse with Siam in the 17th century".)

The word "Mergui" was a subject of controversy some years ago, but no solution appears to have been arrived at. Evidently "Mergui" is a distorted form of "Mergi" or "Mergy". In the 16th century when the town of Mergui was the terminus of a trade route on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, the channel through which trading vessels came up to the port was on the south-west of the town, and about 12 miles in the same direction from the town there was a small bay called "Merjit Bay" (မာရိတ်ဘေ). Portuguese travellers coming to the port had to cross the bay and naturally called the town after the name of the bay. At this distant date the exact meaning of the word "Merjit" could not be ascertained, but I came across an old Siamese man whose flight of imagination took him away to the day when an old Malay named "Maryit" or "Marjit" settled at the mouth of the bay and cultivated the land!

The written history of the Kingdom of Tenasserim seems to have started from the year 735 B. E. when the King asked for the assistance of the King of Arakan to fight against the king of Siam who invaded Tenasserim. Having defended his kingdom with success, King Bahika Rājā proceeded to fortify his capital. In the year 1090, during the reign of Udaung Bayin, Tenasserim was annexed to Siam and was administered by Governors appointed by the Siamese King for 30 years. During this period no important events were recorded. In the year 1121 B. E. (1759 A. D.) when Phra Palichepadaung was the Governor, Alaungpaya (Alompra) invested the place, drove out Phra Palichepadaung and appointed a Burmese Governor in his place. Three years after, the capital was removed from Tenasserim to Mergui then known as 'Marit Kyun' at the mouth of the river Tenasserim, and the town Myeit-myo was built under the supervision of Governor Udein-Kyaw. Minor improvements of the town were then made by successive Governors, but the limits of the town were extended by Governor Khema Rājā who was appointed by King Sinbyushin. Hitherto it was inhabited by the people from Tenasserim only, but in 1132 B. E., Khema Rājā brought down the people from the principal villages, such as Pin-O, Kyaukpaya, Pagoktaung, Sadein, etc., and they were allotted to different quarters in the town, *e. g.*, those who were brought down from Pin-O, Kyaukpaya and small villages along the Myitnge branch of the Tenasserim River were grouped in Myitnge quarter; those from Pagoktaung, Taungpila and neighbouring villages were placed in Alegyun Quarter, and Talaingzu quarter was allotted to those who came from Martaban, etc., Thus Mergui was made up of thirteen wards. 22 Burmese Governors have ruled Mergui in succession, and time appeared to have passed uneventfully until the year 1186 B. E., when during the monsoon news was brought to Mergui of the arrival of the British gun-boats at the mouth of the Rangoon River and of the attack on that place by the British. Instructions were received by the Governor Maung Myat Le for the defence of the town. Thereupon he sent messages to Tenasserim and Palaw asking for assistance for the defence. His request was refused and Maung Myat Le made preparations to punish the leaders of

these towns for their disloyalty. In the meantime word was brought to him that the Governor of Tavoy (Maung Shwe Dok) was captured and taken prisoner by the British through the treachery of the Customs Officer (Maung Dâ). The Governor of Mergui then set sail for Tavoy with 1000 men and 30 war boats with the view to punish Maung Dâ. While they came near the Tavoy island (Malikyun), they sighted the gun-boats and returned to Mergui with all speed and made arrangements for the defence of the town. The British ships came into Mergui port slowly and took up their positions facing the town, when every gun on the shore in charge of some Portuguese was fired. The ships replied with a discharge of broadsides. After 3 hours of artillery duel the Burmese guns were silenced. The English then landed at the Coal Storage (ကျောက်မီးသွေးရုံ) and fought their way through the town and finally captured the place. The Governor then retired to the village east of the town but 4 days after he surrendered himself. He and his Customs Officer (Rushin) were then taken away as prisoners to India. Thus passed the town of Mergui into the hands of the English after 63 years of Burmese rule.*

MAUNG KYI O.

* This article has been received independently of Mr. J. S. Furnivall's which follows. The reader is invited to compare it with U Kyaw Din's "The History of Tenasserim and Mergui" in Vol. vii (Part iii) pp. 251-4.—(Ed.)

FROM THE CHRONICLES OF MERGUI.

BY J. S. FURNIVALL.

Little enough is known of the events of 1824-25, and of those which took place in Tenasserim almost nothing. Laurie is quite silent; here is all that Snodgrass has to say :

“The British Commander, disappointed in his expectations of bringing the enemy to terms by any local operations or successes : and unprovided with the means of carrying the war a day's march into the interior, now resolved, in obedience to his instructions, to attempt the subjugation of his Burmhan Majesty's maritime possessions to the eastward, in the hope that their conquest might induce him to listen to reason and accept of terms.

“For that purpose a small expedition, consisting of his Majesty's eighty-ninth regiment, and the seventh Madras native infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, was immediately got in readiness and, with a considerable naval force, sailed to the eastward. This expedition was attended with complete success; Tavoy surrendered; Mergui was taken by storm and the whole coast of Tenasserim gladly accepted of British protection; but owing to the unfavourable season of the year, news of these events did not reach Rangoon before the beginning of October, when the war had assumed an aspect that precluded every hope of peace from any event short of the reduction of the capital, or the complete prostration of the power and resources of the nation.”

That is all. So far as I am aware there is no other mention of this little expedition anywhere in the scanty records of Anglo-Burman literature. For the austere historian it is sufficient; the matter is unimportant, the science of history requires no more than the bare record of the fact; it is just an insignificant nail, to be deftly hammered in at the right place. But for that intimate history which traces the home life of a people through the ages, that tells of Alfred and the cakes, of Becket, the turbulent priest, of the little princes, of Raleigh's cloak, and of Pitt and the mutton pies, or, in Burma, pictures Nga Zinga wading knee deep in blood, and recalls the feasts in Syriam before the Golden Company of Alaung Paya fought their way through the Wettha gate, and up to the palace on the hill, for that intimate history, which every boy should learn in school as if it told, as indeed it does, of facts in his own past life which he has forgotten, the mere record that Tavoy surrendered and Mergui was stormed is of no use; there must be detail showing why Tavoy surrendered and what happened when Mergui was stormed. Luckily, Maung Shwe Don of Mergui, formerly a Taikthugyi, has preserved a record of the occurrences at Mergui giving us a detailed history from the Burman point of view. Before proceeding with the translation one or

two remarks are necessary. Firstly, the document is not contemporaneous with the events which it describes. This is clear from the fact that the attacking fleet is said to have entered Mergui "as fast as they could burn coal"; as a matter of fact, however, there were no steam ships in the English fleet. Secondly, the document has been copied and re-copied; that which I saw was probably little more than 20 years old; some of the copyists have used the Mergui dialect, in which, among other peculiarities, the sounds of "it" and "et" are interchanged both in speech and writing; this circumstance, together with numerous mistakes in copying, render much of it difficult to understand; probably also the original writer was not skilled in composition. However, verbal accuracy is not a matter of great importance in such a translation as is now attempted; for the most part I have given the meaning that seemed to be intended, and where the scribe has run right off the rails so that his meaning is quite unintelligible I have just followed him off the rails and on again. A copy of the document is printed herewith and the translation therefore can be checked. Yet the account is substantially accurate, not only in the general outline of the story but in details. Fortunately this can be proved. The selected correspondence in the office of the Commissioner of Tenasserim, recently published by Government, contains the names of all officials at Mergui when the town was stormed. Many of the names are also given in this Burmese record, and there is a large degree of correspondence between the two lists. It is certain therefore that the narrative must have been written or dictated by, or represent the memoirs of, some Burmese officer who took a leading part in the events described.

II.

A NARRATIVE OF THE OPERATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE BURMANS UNDER MAUNG MYAT LE.

(Translated from the Burmese.)

The Royal Secretary Sanda Dewa arrived in Mergui with the Royal Proclamation notifying that 40 English war vessels had arrived in the month of Wagaung 1186 B.E. with the intention of attacking Rangoon in Hanthawaddy. The Governor thereupon made preparations to resist the English should they send a fleet to Mergui. He issued from the Armoury (de-wun-taik) 64 cannon, large and small, and 1,000 muskets, and had them overhauled so as to be ready for use. He demolished the buildings in the Seiknge Quarter and posted there upwards of 30 small cannon which had been made by the Town Militia. He appointed Rawshin, a Portuguese, with a company of all the Bayingyis (Feringhis, i.e. Roman Catholics) in the Town, to man the guns. The people of Tenasserim instigated by the Kingyi Captain mutinied, but Mg. Myat Le directed an expedition against them, brought them in to Mergui, made the Kingyi Captain dress in white, and appointed the Town Clerk to be joint governor of Tenasserim with himself. The people of Palaw also held back in a similar manner after receiving a formal summons to join in the defence.

Mg. Myat Le therefore led another expedition against these also, and brought into Mergui all the men and women from Palaw. He was arranging for them to perform their share of the defence when news was received that, on the arrival of the English, Mg. Da, the Port Officer of Tavoy, had rebelled, seized the Governor, Mg. Shwe Dok, made him over to the English, and surrendered the Town. The Governor, Mg. Myat Le, thereupon publicly proclaimed the said Port Officer, Mg. Da, as a traitor who had broken his oath of allegiance, and resolved to attack the English and arrest him. He set out for Tavoy with this intention and was accompanied by 1000 soldiers and upwards of 30 war boats; but at the Mali Islands he was greeted by the news that the English were making for Mergui with 8 men of war.

On hearing this he returned immediately to Mergui, made arrangements for the performance of propitious ceremonies, and convened a Council. This Council was attended by the following: the Port Officer, the Sitkes, Ko Shwe Kya and Mok-seik, the Akunwun, Mg. Myat Ya, the Akaukwun Mg. Yauk, the Scribes Mg. Daw and Mg. Pein, the Town Nakhon, Mg. Lok, the Myothugyi Mg. Sok, the Myo-sayes Ko Pan and Ko Myat La, and the headmen of the following quarters of Mergui Town: of the Satein Quarter Ko Taung, of the Tavoy Quarter Ko Po, of the Myitnge Quarter Ko Shan, of Alegyun Ko Pon and of Naukle Ko Pan U. At this Council it was arranged that Rawshin *thakin* and the Bayingyi should man 25 cannon; the Governor, together with Mg. Pein the Scribe and Seya Tut U, was posted on the hill with 5 cannon; the Town Militia was posted to guard the foreshore camp in the Seiknge Quarter; Mg. Shwe Kya (the Sitke) was given charge over the area from Naukle to Wetkaung; the 300 men of Tenasserim were armed with a musket apiece, and posted on the Seyadaw Kyaung Hill in four camps of 75 men each, with Mg. Myat Ya (the Akunwun?) as their Captain. The arms for the several detachments were then distributed to the officers and the whole force waited in readiness for the attack.

The English Men-of-War, nine in number, entered the harbour as fast as coal could bring them at 8 a.m. on the 14th waxing of Thadingyut 1186. A Tavoyan, Mg. Kwe Byu, landed, carrying a flag, and presented to the Governor, Mg. Myat Le, a communication from the Admiral of the Fleet. The Governor had this letter read out in Council; it was to the following effect:—"The Port Officer of Tavoy, Mg. Da, having surrendered Tavoy, the English General has promoted him and his family and appointed him to a more eminent position." Mg. Shwe Pu, the son of the said Port Officer, together with 500 Tavoyans had accompanied the English to Mergui. But the Governor, Mg. Myat Le, indignantly refused to surrender Mergui, and after the letter had been read out ordered that Kwe Byu together with the flag which he had brought should be made over to the Kala Kwe camp outside the Town, and that the Captain in charge of that camp should expel him from the Town precincts and place him in jail. These orders were carried out and the man was placed in jail accordingly.

At 9 a.m. the vessels cast anchor in line, one at the Stone Jetty, one at the Yesi Well, and one at the Main Jetty. The Burman Captains wished to open fire forthwith, but the Governor directed them to await his orders. He took his seat beneath two golden umbrellas on the rocky platform below the large Pagoda, and ordered that at 10 o'clock, when the battlefield and the whole town were quiet, every cannon in the town should be fired off at the same time.

The Men-of-War opened fire simultaneously, and both sides continued firing until about 3 p.m. During an interval, when the smoke had cleared away, the Burman Captains advised resuming the attack from another position. But the Governor ordered them to fire another round before moving. After complying with his orders they found that the vessels had suffered greatly, but that the town, which was protected by the hill from the fire of the Men-of-War, had only sustained slight damage. The Governor therefore came to the conclusion that there was no great cause for anxiety, and directed them to break off for a while and resume operations on the morrow. He left instructions that he was to be called if the Tavoyans attempted an attack by land, and went down the hill to his residence.

But after the Burmans had ceased fire the soldiers from the vessels came to shore in sampans and landed at the Coal-yard. The Captains attacked them; Mg. Shan Byu from the Hlegataung, and Mg. Mè Tun from the Ma-tha Gate, and drove them back to the wall under cover of which they took shelter. At this stage a heavy rain-storm broke, and the arms and ammunition of the Burmans being exposed to it became damp and could no longer be fired. But the English were protected from the rain by the Town wall, and were thus enabled to renew their attack against the Burmans from the Ma-tha Gate, who could only defend themselves with spears and dais. Hence they succeeded in forcing their way into the Town at a cost of a hundred men.

The Governor was informed, and, chiding his informant for the delay in telling him, hurried to the Myitnge Quarter where he defeated a detachment of soldiers. But he was attacked by a body of about a thousand English soldiers on the Ashe-kyaung Hill. The Burmans lost heavily, and the Governor Mg. Myat Le himself made a desperate personal resistance; but their muskets were wet and would not fire, and after many of the Burmans had lost their lives Mg. Myat Le, without a single follower, managed to escape to Beiktaung, from whence he reached Kalvin where he took refuge.

Four days after the storming of the Town the English heard that Mg. Myat Le was willing to surrender. Two officers of high rank therefore came to meet him, and brought him to Mergui. On arriving there he learned that the Akaukwun, Rawshin, and the Bayingyis had been placed under arrest and were confined in the ships because they had fired cannon at the attacking force. He explained that this had been done by his orders, saying, "Now that the English have arrested me these other

people ought to be set free." On his representation therefore 47 men were released but he himself and Rawshin were taken prisoners to India.

III

NOTES.

The foregoing narrative amplifies the bare statement of Snodgrass that Tavoy surrendered and that Mergui was taken by storm. The following notes which cast further light upon the matter are taken from a Report by Mr. A. D Maingy, the first Civil Governor of Tenasserim, published in the Volume of Selected Correspondence printed by Government in 1916.

The principal officer is described as the Miew-woon, the Governor of the whole Province. His name is given as Maung Ya Kle, which it is not easy to reconcile immediately with Maung Myat Le. But Mr. Maingy clearly had a poor ear for Burmese; for example he calls the Kyaukpya River the Goulpia River, and Ya Kle at least resembles Myat Le, as Goulpia resembles Kyaukpya. Mr. Maingy corroborates the Narrative as regards the Governor being taken prisoner and sent to Calcutta, but adds that his eldest son Kunoon (presumably Ko Nyun) was sent with him. Mr. Maingy gives the ex-governor a good character: "This man was equally distinguished for his mild and good administration as for his attachment to the Court of Ava; he is spoken of with great respect by all the inhabitants of Mergui."

Mr. Maingy gives further information regarding the family. "The second son Shooea (Shwe Ya?) is still here (*i.e.*, in Mergui). He is about 25 years old and bears an indifferent character; he is said to have been formerly a patron of a gang of thieves, he now lives with his mother and seems quiet; is married and has a young family. There are also two daughters of the late Miew-woon residing with their mother. One is still a child. The other has been married but separated from her husband before the arrival of the English. The mother is very poor, having been plundered at the storm. Her eldest son's wife and family reside with her also."

Mr. Maingy recommended that the family should receive a small pension.

Maung Da, or Mounгда as Mr. Maingy calls him, was still at Mergui when Mr. Maingy arrived. It appears that he was a native of Tavoy who earned his appointment as Ye-wun by capturing a Siamese dacoit leader. "He is reckoned a clever man," Mr. Maingy continues, "and was most instrumental in delivering up Tavoy into our hands. He was influenced to this as much from his disaffection to the Miew-woon as from his knowledge of the place not being tenable. Colonel Miles for his services appointed him first Rajah, but he was afterwards arrested and confined by Colonel Wolfe for reasons which it is unnecessary to repeat.

He was very well affected to us before his arrest, and is so now in all probability as he would no doubt lose his life if he fell into the hands of the King of Ava. He has two wives three of his sons are with him at Mergui, the 4th, a boy of 12, is here, residing with his mother and too young to be dangerous, although it is said he has been tampered with by some of those engaged in the late plot They live retired on the little Maungda had. The eldest son is orderly and well behaved. The other two are bad characters and were at the head of gangs of thieves." The name of Mg. Shwe Dok, the Governor of Tavoy who was seized by the Port Officer, is given by Mr. Maingy as Mounng Shoedok. According to Mr. Maingy the Governor was "of good family in Ava . . . not reckoned of very great abilities, but extremely avaricious and bent upon making as much money as he possibly could by his situation in which he is accused of great cruelty and oppression. He is said to have realised by his exactions about 25 piculs of silver."

But this information was presumably obtained from or through Maung Da who could not afford to give a good character to the man whom he had betrayed. As the Governor during his period of office executed 11 men for theft, and two of Maung Da's sons patronized gangs of thieves, it is possible that the cruelty and oppression relate to the executions of the thieves.

Mr. Maingy continues "He is now a prisoner in Calcutta. It was his wish to have defended this place (Tavoy) against the English but (he) was opposed in his views by the Ye-woon and his party. A scuffle ensued between the two parties in which one of the Ye-woons lost his life. His wife resides here with an infant male child. She is very poor; a son named Mounng Pay, about 25 years of age, had left the place and gone to Ava before the arrival of the English. This son was married here but had no children. He is separated from this woman and taken another in Ava. Mounng Shoedok is strongly attached to Ava."

From the poverty of the ex-governor's family it looks as if the 25 piculs of silver must have been mislaid during the scuffle.

The Narrative does not mention the name of the Port Officer of Mergui. According to Mr. Maingy it was a man Mounngbo, not of exalted birth and destitute of personal influence. Subsequently he applied for leave to settle at Tenasserim and being of a quiet and inoffensive character received permission. Probably the omission from the Narrative of his name and all further mention of him is accounted for by his insignificance. The Port Officer, or Ye-wun according to modern transliteration, was variously known to Mr. Maingy as the Yea-woon or the Ray-woon; the Akunwun also can easily be identified as the Ack-hoon-woon, but Ack-ha-o-woon was the nearest approach that could be made to Akaukwun, the Collector of Sea Customs. The name of the Akaukwun is the same in both lists, the Narrative gives Maung Yauk, and Mr. Maingy gives Mounng-youk; but Mounng-Mee-ayuh is a very bad attempt at Mg. Myat Ya the name of the Akunwun. Neither of these seems to have played a leading part in the defence, but Mr. Maingy represents them as influential though of no family, and hostile to the new government,

Of the inferior officials Mr. Maingy only mentions one Sitke, or "Chey=key", whose name Mounghshoo-ee-ah was apparently an attempt at Maung Shwe Kya. The Na-khan Mg. Lok, or Nga Lok can be identified under the name of Nullong, and one of the Scribes, Mg. Pein, is obviously the person intended by Mounghbyne, but the other scribe, Mg. Daw, cannot be recognised under the style of Moun Ba, as the name of the man who held that office was recorded by Mr. Maingy. The Myothugyi, Miewsigee, must be the Myothugyi of Tenasserim, resumably the successor to the Kingyi Bo, whom Mg. Myat Le removed; in Mergui there were five "Soogies" one over each quarter. These quarters are given by Mr. Maingy as Nouley (Naukle), Alley Choon (Alegyun), Seding (Satein), Mingay, (Myit-nge) and Tavoy (Dawe). It is somewhat strange that on this point there should be an agreement between Mr. Maingy and the Narrative, because the local chronicle gives a list of wards which agrees much more closely with the divisions recognised at the present day. The Satein ward however which appears in both the above lists and also in the chronicle is no longer known.

With regard to the Portuguese Rawshin I have been unable to obtain any further information; certain Armenian merchants are mentioned by Mr. Maingy, but he is silent concerning the Roman Catholic colony which had been stranded in Mergui for about two hundred years. Nevertheless the details given by Mr. Maingy suffice to show that the Narrative must have been compiled by some one with first hand knowledge of the circumstances. Mr. Maingy has left on record similar notes about the taking of Tavoy, and it is to be hoped that for that town also there is some Burmese narrative of the events accompanying the advent of the British, of the scuffle between the parties of the Governor and of the Port Officer, of the appointment of the three Rajahs by Colonel Miles, and of the subsequent rebellion.

IV

THE STORY IN BURMESE *

မြို့မင်းမောင်မြတ်လေးနှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းတို့စစ်ဖြစ်ပွားသည်အကြောင်း။

၁၁၈၆ ခု၊ ဝါခေါင်လ၊ တံသာဝတီရန်ကုန်မြို့သို့ အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းတိုက်သင်္ဘော ၄၀ ဝင်ရောက်၍တိုက်ကြောင်း။ စာရေးတော်ကြီး စန္ဒဝေသာလာရောက်၍ အမိန့်တော်စာချုပ်ပေးရာ။ မြိတ်မြို့တွင် အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းသင်္ဘောဝင်ရောက်လျှင်။ ခုခံတိုက်ရန်။ အမြောက်ကြီးငယ် ၆၄ လုံး။ သွတ်၁၀၀၀။ ဒေဝန်တိုက်တော်ကထုပ်၍ပြင်ဆင်ထားသည်။ ဆိပ်ငယ်ရပ်ကိုဖြိုဖြစ်၍၊ မြို့သူရဲစိုး။ လုပ်ပြီးအမြောက်ငယ် ၃၀ ကြော်ခင်းကျင်းစီမံထားသည်။ မြို့ပန်မင်းအမိန့်တော်နှင့်၊ ပုတကပ်လူမျိုးချော်ရှင်က။ အမြောက်ပြစ်ရန်အခမ်းအနားကိုမြို့ရှိတုရင်ကြီးလူများနှင့်အသင့်စီမံနေရသည်။ ဘနသံရီရှိလူများသိန်းရမ်းရာ။ ခင်ကြီးဘိုးကမြို့သားများနှင့်ခုခံ၍မလိုက်နေသောကြောင့်၊ ဗိုလ်ချေနှင့် သိန်းယူပြီးလျှင်။ ခင်ကြီးဘိုးဝတ်ဖြူလဲစေ၍။ တနသံရီမြို့စာရေး ငမြတ်လေးနှင့်အတူအံ့ဆွမ်းစီရင်လေသည်။ ပုလောမြို့ကိုစစ်တိုက်ရန်အမိန့်တော်နှင့်ခေါ်ရာ။ ဤကဲ့သို့ခုခံ၍၊ ဗိုလ်ခြေတို့ကသေနတ်နှင့်ပြစ်၍၊ မိမ္မယောက်ျား မြို့သို့သိန်းရုံးယူခဲ့သည်။ ထိုလူများကို။ ခုခံရန်စီမံနေသည့် အ

* For obvious reasons we print this and the following extracts without corrections Ed.

တွင်း။ ဒါးဝယ်မြို့သို့အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းတို့ကမည်သွားရာ။ ရေဝန်မောင်ဒါကပုန်ကန်၍ဒါးဝယ်မြို့ဝန် မောင်ရွှေတင်ကို လက်ရဲဘမ်းယူပြီးလျှင်။ အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းသို့ဆက်လိုက်ကြောင်းကြားရ၍။ မြို့ဝင်မင်းမောင်မြတ်လေးက။ ၎င်းရေဝန်တော်သည် အရှင်သစ္စာတော်တောက်သောသူဖြစ်သည်။ အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းတို့ကိုပြီးသော်။ ၎င်းကိုလက်ရဲဘမ်းယူမည်အမိန့်တော်ထုတ်၍။ မြတ်မြို့က လက်နက်ကိုင်လူပေါင်း ၁၁၀၀ တို့ကိုလေပေါင်း ၃၀ ကျော်နှင့် ထားဝယ်မြို့သို့ ချီသွားသော်။ မလိလေးကျွန်းရောက်လျှင် အင်္ဂလိပ်သင်္ဘော ၈ စင်းနှင့် ဗြိတိန်မြို့ရှိသောကြောင်းကြားသဖြင့်ချက်ခြင်းဆုတ်ခွါလာရာ။ မြတ်မြို့သို့ရောက်လျှင်မင်္ဂလာရှိသောသဘင်ကျင်းပ၍။ မြို့ဝန်မင်း။ ရေဝန်မင်းသို့။ စစ်ကံမင်းကိုရွှေကြာ။ စစ်ကံမုတ်ဆိတ်အခွန်ဝန်မင်းမောင်မြတ်အား။ အကောက်ဝန်မင်းမောင်ရောက်။ စာရေးကြီးမောင်တော။ မောင်ပိန်။ မောင်မွန်။ မြို့နားခံမောင်လုပ်။ မြို့သူကြီးမောင်သုတ်။ မြို့စခေးကိုပန်း။ ကိုမြတ်လ။ စတိန်သူကြီးကိုတောင်။ ဒါးဝယ်ကိုပ။ မြစ်ဝယ်ကိုရှန်း။ လယ်ကျွန်းကိုဘုန်သည်။ နောက်လယ်ကိုပန်းဦး။ မင်းစုံမင်းညီတိုင်ပင်၍ ရော်ရှင်သခင်ကို။ ဘုရင်ကြီးလူစုနှင့်အမြောက် ၂၅ လုံးဖြစ်စေ။ မြို့ဝင်မင်းဘုရားတောင်က စာရေးကြီးမောင်ပိန်နှင့် ဆရာထွက်ဦးကို။ အမြောက် ၅ လုံးပြစ်ရမည်။ ဆိတ်ငယ်ရပ်ရေနားတပ်။ သရဲခိုကကို။ နောက်လယ် ဝက်ခေါင်းထီး။ မောင်ရွှေကြာကဖြစ်ရမည်။ တနင်္သာရီမြို့သားလူ ၃၀၀ နှင့် သေနတ် ၃၀၀ မှာ ၇၇ ယောလျှင်တတပ်။ လေးတပ်အပေါ်တွင် မိုလ်မော့မြတ်ရာ။ ဆရာတော်ကျောင်းတောင်တွင်နေရင်း။ အရာရှိများကို။ အသီးသီးလက်ကိုင်ချထားပြီး အသင့်နေကြသည်။ ၎င်း ၁၁၀၀ ချီသတင်ကျွတ်လဆန်း ၁၄ ရက်နေ့နံနက် ၈ နာရီအချိန်။ အင်္ဂလိပ်တိုက်သင်္ဘောကိုးစင်းဝင်လာ၍ ကျောက်မီးသွေးရစ်လောက် ရောက်လျှင် ထားဝယ်မြို့သားမောင်ခွေးဖြူကို။ အလံတချောင်းနှင့်သင်္ဘောဗိုလ်ကြီး အမိန့်စာပါ။ မြို့ဝင်မောင်မြတ်လေးကို ဆက်သည်ကာလ။ မင်းစုံမင်းညီတို့ရှေ့တွင်။ ၎င်းဘက်သည်။ ၎င်းစာအမိန့်ပါယ်မှာ။ ဒါးဝယ်မြို့ကို။ ရေဝန်မောင်ဒါပေးအပ်၍။ ၎င်းမောင်ဒါနှင့် သားသွီးများကို ရှေ့ကထောက်တို့၍။ အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းဗိုလ်တို့က မြင့်မြတ်သောရာထူးခန့်တော်မူသည်။

ရေဝန်မောင်ဒါသား မောင်ရွှေပုက။ ဒါးဝယ်မြို့သားလူပေါင်း ၅၀၀ နှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းဘက်ကပါလာသည်။ ၎င်းမြို့ဝန်မောင်မြတ်လေးက။ မြတ်မြို့ကိုအပ်မည်။ မအပ်။ ၎င်းစာကိုဘတ်နာပြီး။ ၎င်းမြို့ဝင်မင်းကအင်မိန့်တော်ရှိသည်မှာ။ ၎င်းခွေးဖြူသည် ယူလာသောအလံကိုကိုင်စေ၍။ မြို့တစ်ပြင်သို့။ ၎င်းကုလားခွေးတပ်ကိုအပ်။ ၎င်းခွေးဘိုက။ ခွေးဖြူပင်တံခါးထပ်၍ တစ်ပြင်သို့ထုပ်ပြီးမှထောင်မှာထားရမည် အမိန့်တော်ရှိသည်အတိုင်းထောင်မှာချထားသည်။

နံနက် ၉ နာရီခန့်ရှိလျှင်။ ကျောက်တံတားမှာသင်္ဘော ၁ စင်း။ ရေစီးတွင်းမှာ သင်္ဘောတစ်စင်း။ တံတားကြီးက သင်္ဘောတစ်စင်း။ အစင်အတိုင်းသင်္ဘောစင်းကျပ်ချထားသည်အခါ။ သင်္ဘောနေရာ မကြာခင်အမြောက်ပြစ်ဖောက်မည်အကြောင်း ဗိုလ်တို့ကလျှောက်လျှင်။ ငါအမိန့်ပေးမှပြစ်မည်ရအမိန့်တော်ရှိပြီးစေငါ့ကြီးအောက်ကျောက်တန်းတွင်။ ရွှေထီး ၂ လက်မိုး၍ ထိုင်နေတော်မူပြီး သင်္ဘောကိုကြည့်နေသည်။ ၁၀ နာရီကျကာလရန်ပင်။ ၎င်းမြို့လုံးချမ်းသာကိုပြစ်မည်။ ထိုနောက်မည်သည့်အမြောက်မဆို။ အကုန်ဖောက်ရမည်ဆို၍ပြစ်ဖောက်သည်။ သင်္ဘောကလည်း တပြိုင်နှစ်တည်းထွက်လေသည်။ ၃ နာရီခန့်ပစ်ဖောက်တိုက်ကျရာ။ မီးခိုးလင်းခိုက်။ မြို့အရာရှိမင်းများကအချားနေရာတွင် ပြောင်းရွှေ့ပြီးတိုက်မတော်မည်ထင်ကြောင်း ချောက်ထားကာလ။ တချီတိုက်ပြီးမှ နေရာပြောင်းမည်။ အမိန့်ပေးပြီးထပ်မန်ဖြစ်ကြပြန်သည်။ မြို့ကပြစ်သောလက်နက်သည် သင်္ဘောကိုများစွာမှန်သည်။ သင်္ဘောကပစ်သောလက်နက်သည်တောင်ခံနေသောကြောင့် များစွာအထိမရှိ။ မြို့ဝင်မင်းက နံနက်စောစောမှပြစ်မည်။ ယခုရပ်ဆိုင်းဦးတော့။ ငါအိမ်သို့သွားဦးမည်။ သည်အနေဖြစ်လျှင် များစွာစိုးရိမ်တွယ်မမိ။ အကယ်၍ထားဝယ်မြို့သားများ ကုန်းကြောင်းတက်လာလျှင်။ ငါလာ၍ အကြောင်းကြားဆို၍ အိမ်တော်သို့ဆင်းသွားသည်။ မြန်မာတို့က အမြောက်မပြစ်ဖောက်လျှင် သင်္ဘောက လက်နက်ကိုင်တို့သည် သမ္ဗန်နှင့်လှာ၍ ကျောက်မီးသွေးရစ်ကဆိုက်ရောက်၍ တက်လာရာ။ လှေကားထောင်တပ်ဗိုလ်မောင်ရှန်းဖြူက ခုခံတိုက်သည်။ ၎င်းပြင်မှသာတံခါးဗိုလ်မောင်ထွန်း ခုခံတိုက်ရာ။ အင်္ဂလိပ်စစ်သည်များ ဆုတ်ခွါ၍ မြို့ရိုးမှာခိုနေရာ။ အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းဘုန်ကကြောင့် မိုင်းသည်းထန်စွာရှာသဖြင့် မြို့မှတို့ခုခံတိုက်သော အမြောက်သွေတိုက်သည်။ မိုင်းစိုစွတ်သောကြောင့် မထွက်ကုန်။ အင်္ဂလိပ်လက်

နှက်ကိုင်တို့မြို့ဝင်တပ်၍။ မသားတံခါးက မြန်မာလက်နက်ကိုင် လှံခါးနှင့်တိုက်ရာ။ အင်္ဂလိပ်လူပေါင်း ၁၀၀ ကျော်ခန့်သေဆုံးသည်။ ၎င်းနောက်ကအတင်းဝင်၍ လာရာ။ မြို့ဝန်ခင်းလျှောက်ထားသည်ကာလ ကြိတ်မ ပြောအပြစ်တင်ပြီးလျှင်။ မြစ်ငယ်ရပ်တွင်။ ဂေါ်ရာတပ်နှင့်တိုက်ကာလ။ ၎င်းတပ်အောင်မြင်သည်။ အရှေ့ ကျောင်းတောင်တွင်း။ အင်္ဂလိပ်လက်နက်ပေါင်း ၁၀၀၀ လောက်ကိုမြို့ဝင်မင်းချီတိုက်ရာ။ သွတ်လက်နက် ကိုမခံနိုင်သောကြောင့်။ မြို့ဘက်များစွာသေသည်။ မြို့ဝန်မောင်မြတ်လေးကိုတိုင် ရွှေကရပ်တန်လျက် ခု ခံသော်လည်း။ သေနတ်ရိုစွတ်သောကြောင့် ပြစ်မချသောကြောင့်။ မြို့တို့များစွာသေဆုံးသည်။ မြို့ဝန်မောင် မြတ်လေးတယောက်တည်းမြိတ်တောင်ထွက်သွားပြီးမှ ကလွင်ရွာမှာနေသည်။ မြို့ဖြစ်၍ နှစ်ကြာလျှင်။ မြို့ကို ဝင်လာသည်အကြောင်းကြား၍။ အင်္ဂလိပ်ဘိုကြီး ၂ ပါးသွား၍ကြိုပြီးလျှင် မြတ်မြို့ယူလာသည်။ အကောက် ဝန်ရော်ရှင်နှင့်ဘုရင်ကြီးများ အမြောက်ပစ်သည်ဆို၍ သင်္ဘောတွင်ချ၍ အကျင်းထားသည်ကို မြို့ဝန်မောင် မြတ်လေးက။ ၎င်းလူမြားသိ၍ ကျွန်ုပ်အမိန့်ခံ၍ပြစ်သည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်ကိုတိုင် အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းလက်သို့ပို့ပြီး ၎င်းလူ များသင်္ဘောတွင်မချုပ်ထားသင့်အံ့ပြောလျှင်။ လူပေါင်း ၄၇ ယောက်လွှတ်၍။ မြို့ဝန်မင်းမောင်မြတ်လေးနှင့် ရော်ရှင်အကောက်ဝန်မင်း ၂ယောက် အကျယ်ချုပ်ပြီး ဘင်္ဂလားမြို့ယူသွားလေသည်။

V

MERGUI UNDER THE AUNGMYA DYNASTY

ဒွါရာဝတီမင်းကြီးသက်ထက်။ ။သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၈၉၃ ခုနှစ် မြင်းချည်တိုင်အစွဲပြု၍ ရှန်အေဂေါ် မရိတ် ကျွန်းအမည်နှင့် သင်္ဘောဆိပ်ပြုလုပ်ရန်မြို့တည်၍ ရှမ်းမင်းများခန့်ထားသည်။ မင်း-၁၃-ရှန်မင်းများအုပ် ချုပ်၍နေစဉ် ၂၀ နှစ်ခန့်ကြာကာလ။ ၁၁၂၁ ခုနှစ် တိုင်ရောက်လျှင် အလောင်းဘုရားကြီးချီလာ၍ရှန် မင်းဆက်ဆုံးသည်။ နှစ်ကြာ-၃။

မင်းကြီးကားမိလက်ထက်။ ။သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၂၃ ခုနှစ်။ တေးလူပြည်ကျော် ၅ ရက်နေ့။ ဦးဒိန်ကျော် ကိုမရိတ်ကျွန်း၌ခန့်ထားသည်ဖြစ်၍။ ထိုမင်းကမရိတ်ကျွန်းအမည်ဖြစ်ပြီးလျှင်။ မြိတ်မြို့ဟူ၍တွင်စေရမည်ဆို၍ ကျောက်ကပြည်းရေးထိုးသည်။ ထိုမင်းက ၃နှစ်။ နေရမည်။

ဆပ်ပြရှင်ဘုရားလက်ထက်။ ။သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၃၄ ခုနှစ်ရောက်ကာလ။ ခေမရာဇာခန့်ထားလေ သည် ထိုမင်းကားလေးနှစ်နေရသည်။

ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားနောက်ထပ်ပြသည်။ ။သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၃၄-ခုနှစ်။ ရောက်က.၁၂။ မင်းဥတ္တမခန့် ထားလေသည်။ ထိုမင်းကားတနှစ်ကြာသည်။

ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားလက်ထက်။ ။သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၃၅ ခုနှစ်။ ရောက်ကာလ။ နေမြို့မင်းခေါင်ခန့်ထား သည်ဖြစ်၍။ ထိုမင်းက သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၀ ပြည့်တိုင်လျှင်။ တနင်္လာနေ့ညနေ ၃ ချက်တီး အချိန် မြိတ်မြို့ သာသနာပြုလူနသဒ္ဓါမဟာရာဇာဂုရု အစပြု၍ ပတ္တသီရိကိုသမုတ်သည်ကားထိုဒါးဝယ်မြို့ သာသနာ ပြု ပညာသာရမင်း။ မဟာဂုရုမင်းတို့နှင့် သင်္ဘောတော်ကြီး ကေတုဉာဉ်။ ပုပ္ဖမလ။ ယေဝတ။ သောဘိတ။ သင်္ဘောပေါင်း ၁၀၀ နှင့်သမုတ်သည်။ မြို့နေဆရာတော်မှာ ခဒိန်ဆရာတော်ဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းဆရာသည် ပညာ အရာကျော်စောသောကြောင့် ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားခေါ်၍ ဘွဲ့အမည်နှင့်ပေးအပ်သဖြင့်။ ထိုအခါသိန်တော်ကြီး နေရာနှင့်ပန်လာသည်။ ထိုနောက် ဂုဏ်သာရဇမဟာရာဇာဂုရု ဆရာတော်များနှင့် သမာဓိ။ သမာဓိ။ မြို့ဝန်မင်းနှင့်တကွ တိုင်ပင်၍ ခယ်တောင်စေတီဟောင်းကိုချိုပြီးလျှင်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၇ တနင်္လာနေ့တချက်တီးအချိန်တွင် စေတီတော်ကြီးတည်တော်မူသည်။ ထိုနေ့မြို့မင်းဂေါင်းမင်းသည် မြိတ်မြို့ တွင်နှစ်ပေါင်း ၄၀ နေရသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၇၅ ခုနှစ် ရောက်ကာလ။ ပဲဒေါက်မင်းမြို့ဝန်ခန့်သည်။ ထိုမင်းမြို့တို့တွင်။ ရေကံ
တူးသည့်ကြောင်းကိုလည်း ဆောက်လုပ်လှူသည်ဖြစ်၍။ ယခုတိုင် ပဲဒေါက်မင်း။ ရေကံအရှေ့အရပ်၌မင်း
ကျောင်းတွင်သည်။ ထိုမင်းလက်ထက်။ မြို့တို့မြို့နယ်တင်ရဲလကျော်ခေါင်းဘ။ ၁၁၇၇ ခုနှစ်။ တဆောင်း
မုဒ်လပြည့်ကျော် ၉ ရက်သောကြာနေ့မနက် ၃ ချက်တီးအချိန်တွင် ကုန်းတော်ပေါ်၌ စေတီတဆူ ရွှေကူ
ဘုရားခေါ်၍တည်သည်။ ထိုမင်းကား ၃ နှစ်နေသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၇၈ ခုနှစ်ရောက်ကာလ။ မင်းရဲကူကိုခန့်ထားသည်။ ထိုမင်းက တံခါးဆောက်လုပ်
၍လှူသောကြောင့်။ မင်းရဲကူတံတားတွင်သည်။ ထိုမင်းကား ၃ နှစ်နေသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၈၁ ခုနှစ်ရောက်ကာလ။ မြို့ဝန်မောင်မြတ်လေးခန့်သည်ဖြစ်၍။ ထိုမင်းက မြို့အရှေ့
မြောက်တွင် ဘုရားငါးဆူတည်သည်။ ၎င်းနောက်ဝက်တိုက်တောင်တွင် ဘုရားဝတ်ပြုလုပ်သည်။ ပူဘုရား
ဒါတုစေတီတော်ကြီးတည်တော်မူသည်။ ထိုနောက်အနောက်လယ်အရပ် ဝက်ခေါင်းကိုဖြစ်ပြီး။ တံတား
လုပ်၍။ ဝက်ခေါင်းတံတားတွင်သည်။ ပူဘုရားကြီးမှာ ၁၁၈ ခုနှစ်ကပြီးသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၈၆-ခုနှစ်။
သတင်းကျွတ်လဆန်း ၁၄ ခုနံနက်နေ့ဝန်းပေါ်အချိန် အင်္ဂလိပ်မင်းကြက်တောင်ဗိုလ်သည်တိုက်သင်္ဘော
၄ စင်းနှင့်ဝင်လာ၍။ တိုက်ပြစ်သောကြောင့်။ နေဝင်လုဆဲအချိန်မှ မခံနိုင်၍ ရဲမက်ပေါင် ၃၀၀၀ ကျော်
တွက်ပြေးရာ။ မြို့ဝန်မောင်မြတ်လေး မြို့အရှေ့ဘက်ထွက်သွားလေတော့သည်။ ၎င်းမင်း ၅ နှစ်ကြာသည်။

Note.—The foregoing extract from the Chronicle of Mergui was found among my papers relating to Mergui. It bears no indorsement but appears to have been copied from the palm leaf record lent to me by Mg. Shwe Don, late Taikthugyi. The discrepancy which may be noticed between the earlier dates may have existed in the original version; the Manuscript copy bears traces of having been compared with the original and a very slight acquaintance with old documents shows that carelessness is no monopoly of the modern clerk.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

(NOTES AND REVIEWS)

Letwèthōndara's Poem.

U Shwe Zan Aung has made an attempt to give a fresh significance to Letwèthōndara's Poem. He suggests new readings and offers new explanations. In the final analysis, he seems to tell us what the reading should be rather than what it actually is. Strangely enough, there is an amazing absence of textual proof. Has the textual critic the right to discard his apparatus? Assuredly not.

I should, however, like to ward off the hostile criticism of my translation. My critic is painfully out when he says that I understand “ဝေ” in “ထပ်ထပ်ထွန်းဘိ” to mean “to cut”. Now, if he had consulted an English Lexicon of modern date, like the Standard or the New Oxford Dictionary, he would have seen that “clear-cut” means “sharply defined”. My use of the expression is meant to convey the idea that the river appears more distinct in outline by contrast with the surrounding forest. To my thinking, U Po Byu's citation from *Kogan Pyo* establishes the meaning of ထပ်ထပ်ထွန်း. To dissolve any lingering doubt, I would give two more quotations ထပ်ထပ်ထွန်းထိန်း၊ မွန်းတည့်ချိန်သာ၊ နေရိုန်ပူလော၊ နေတောတောဝယ်။ *Mahazaniaka Pyo* v. 12 ထပ်ထပ်ထွန်းထင်း၊ နေလလင်သို့၊ လူတွင်နှိုင်းကင်း၊ တရားမင်းအာ။ *Sutaunggan Pyo* v. 137.

In the explanation of ဆိးကျံကျံ the critic's speculative bent, rather than his literary sense, is clearly in evidence. He does not bring forward any classic proof. His attempt strikes me as a piece of clever, but unconvincing, guesswork. If ဆိး is the correct reading, my translation, which is based upon U Po Byu's interpretation, is tenable, since ကျံကျံ is also an intensive form of ကျံ which means “to smear”. Possibly, the reading is ဆည်း။ The reason is this. In the list of Burmese Archaisms compiled by Mg. Tin and published in Volume V, Part II of this Journal, the meaning of ဆည်းကျံကျံ is given as “peaceful, quiet, far from human sound,” and the very passage under discussion from the Mèza Poem is quoted as an illustration. Two other classic passages make the meaning clear as the day. ဆည်းကျံကျံသျှင်၊ လူသံဆိတ်ဆိတ်၊ တိတ်တိတ် မောမော ဤရပ်တော၌ *Buridat Lingayi* v. 14 နေခင်းဆိတ်ညံ့၊ ဆည်းကျံကျံ၊ ခြံသွားမပဲ။ *Kawiletkhanathatpon* line 258.

ဆည်းကျံကျံ is an archaism for “silent”; but I have yet to find an author of the front rank use ဆိးကျံကျံ in that sense.

BA HAN.

Letwethondara's Poem.

Before commenting on the poem itself, we should first consider when and where the poem was written. It is a well known fact that the verses were written while the Poet was in exile at Meza.

It appears that the Poet himself had never been on the Meza Hill nor had he been amidst the Meza forest. Presumably the verses were written and despatched from the foot of the Meza Hill.

It is an admitted fact that the Poet wrote the poem two days after his arrival at Meza and that from the day he was ordered to go to Meza on banishment to his return to the Capital a period of 46 days elapsed. See မြည်မြို့မြို့လက်။

It does not materially matter whether the poem was written at night or in the day, or whether it was written in the month of Kason. The Poet himself was a clever man, and he could write it at his will; as it is, we cannot infer the positive date and time of the composition from the poem itself. However, in “နေ့ကျန်းသန်ကာ . . . သီတင်းအလှူ။” of the last verse of his 2nd poem beginning with ဝေဒနာစန္ဒာ။ (သန်) မိုး (Pali ဝဿန) မိုးရွာခြင်း။ the Poet is alluding to the rains. In the 2nd verse of the same poem သီတာဝတ်တုံး . . . မိုးတွေတွေတည်း။ the poet refers to the floods caused by rain. It is therefore probable that both the poems were written during the Lent (ဝါတွင်း) From the old saying ဝါဆိုဝါခေါင် ရေဖောင်းဖောင်း။ we might conclude that the poems were written in one of these months.

I shall endeavour to make the meaning clear by breaking the verses into several groups of different ideas. With moderate attention one can easily grasp the meaning of the poem.

The poem consists of 3 verses, each verse being divided into 5 stanzas, the ပိုင်းငယ် and ပိုင်းကြီး reading as comma and fullstop respectively.

1st verse.

- ၁။ ။မဲဇာတောင်ခြေ၊စီးတွေတွေတည်း။ မြစ်ရေဝန်းသည်၊မြိုင်တောစည်က။ ရွှေပြည်ကိုသာ၊တရှာတော့မိ။
- ၂။ ။မိုးရှိရှိလျှင်၊သီရိကြက်သရေ၊တက်ပြီးဝေသား။အောင်မြေကြော့ကြော့။ကုန်းမော့မော့နှင့်။
- ၃။ ။ဘိုးတော့ကောင်းမှု၊တည်ထားပြုသည်၊ဇမ္ဗူ၊ဆီမီး၊ခြောက်ရောင်ညီးမှု။ ဂူကြီးသခင်၊ရွှေလင်းပင်နှင့်၊ရွှေခြင်္သေ့၊မွှေးစ၍ရေသော်၊ရွှေစေတီကြီး၊အသီးသီးတည်း၊ပိတ်ဆီးချယ်သန်း၊လျှပ်ရောင်တန်းမျှ။
- ၄။ ။ရွှေနန်း ရွှေတုံ၊အလုံးစုံကို၊အာရုံမျက်မြင်၊ဘူးမြော်ချင်၍။
- ၅။ ။သည်တွင်ရွှေမြို့၊သည်သူစေတီ။ သည်ဆီရွှေနန်း၊ဖြောင့်တန်းတော့မည်၊စိတ်ကရည်သည်။ ။ ရွှေပြည်ဌာန၊ဝေသော်ကြောင့်။

2nd verse.

- ၁။ သဲသာသောင်မြေ၊ မြစ်ကမ်းခြေလည်း၊ အကြွေတပြင်၊ တို့အောက်ခွင်ဝယ်၊ ရေရှင်ပတ်ဝန်း၊
ပျော်ဘွယ်ထွန်းလိမ့်၊ တကျွန်းလောက်ပင်၊ ဝေးမည်ထင်ခဲ့။
- ၂။ စီးသွင်ညိုရစ်၊ မဲဇာမြစ်လည်း၊ ထစ်ထစ်ထွန်းထိ၊ ချိုအတိနှင့်။
- ၃။ တောကြီးဆိတ်ညံ၊ ဆည်းကျံကျံဝယ်၊ ခုဝံမပေါ်၊ မမျှော်ပါရ၊ နေကိုတလည်း၊ ဘယ်ကရွှေ
နောက်၊ ဘယ်တောင်မြောက်ဟု၊ တွေးထောက်မမှန်။
- ၄။ ဖန်ဖန်အံ့ဩ၊ ကြိုတိုင်းမော့စွ၊ ဘယ်တောဘယ်မြို့၊ မသိနိုင်ခဲ့၊ မခိုင်စိတ်ဝမ်း၊ နေ့တိုင်းလွမ်းရှင့်။
- ၅။ ကင်းစမ်းတောင်က၊ လေဦးစ၍၊ နောက်မှလေရှည်၊ အတည်တည်သည်၊ လေပြည်လာက ဧ
သော်ကြောင့်။

3rd verse.

- ၁။ ဝဲခါညောင်ရေ၊ သွန်းမြဲပေတည့်၊ ရိုးသေသဋ္ဌ၊ ထုံးစဉ်လာဖြင့်၊ မဲဇာရပ်သူ၊ တောင်းဆုယူသည်။
ရွှေဂူတော်နှင့်၊ ရှုတိုင်းတင့်သာ။
- ၂။ မိုးမြင့်သီခေါင်၊ မဲဇာချောင်က၊ တတောင်လုံးမှိုင်း၊ စ၍ဆိုင်းသော်၊ တောင်တိုင်းရှက်ရွှေ၊ ဝန်းကာ
ဓမ္မသည်၊ တောင်ငွေ့ဝေဝေ၊ အထွေထွေနှင့်။
- ၃။ လေလည်းရောရာ၊ မိုဗ်းပေါ်ဘဲ၊ သံဝါဖြောက်ဖြောက် ဆီးနှင်းပေါက်လည်း၊ မိုဗ်းလောက်ပြင်း
ထန်၊ သွန်းချပြန်သော်။
- ၄။ ယုဂန်ထင်ရှား၊ တောင်တော်ဖျားက၊ ရထားယာဉ်သာ၊ နေစကြာလည်း၊ ရောင်ဝါမထွန်း။
- ၅။ ချမ်းရှာလွန်း၍၊ တည့်မွန်းချိန်နေ၊ ရောက်လွယ်စေဟု၊ ရေရေလှည့်လည်၊ တလျက်မည်သည်။
နေခြည်ဖြာမှ၊ နွေးသော်ကြောင့်။
- ပေါ်ရာဏဒီပနီကျမ်း၊ ဇေတုပတိစာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊
ရန်ကုန်မြို့။

The following *patpyo* written by Myawadi-Wungyi is based upon the poem in question, and it is hoped it will throw some light on the subject.

မြဝတီဝန်ကြီးဦးစချေး ပတ်ပျို။

မဲဇာတောင်မြေ၊ စီးတွေတွေ၊ ရစ်သန်းသီတာရေ၊ ပန်းမြိုင်ဘွေငယ်မှာ။ ဆန်းမထွေလေသည်က။ စံရွှေ
ပြည့်နန်းဆီသို့တ၊ ဘိုးတော်ငယ်ပဝရ၊ တေဇငယ်ပြန်ကြ။ တည်ထားအဆုဆု၊ ဇဉ်းဆီမီး။ ခြောက်ရောင်ရှင်။
ဂူကြီးမြတ်ထွဋ်တင်၊ ရွှေလင်းပင်၊ ခြင်္သေ့မျှား၊ ထွေထွေရန်လို့သား၊ တည်ထားစေတီ။ သည်ဆီအောင်ခန်း၊ ရည်
ရှယ်မျှော်မိမှန်း။ နန်းရွှေပြည်ကွာဝေးလို့၊ ဆွေးဖျာတုနှောင်။ ဝဲကဆုန်ညောင်ရေစင်သုံး၊ မြတ်ဖျားကူတော်
တောင်က၊ ရည်မှောင်ဝိတ်ခါ၊ ဖုံးနှင်းငွေရည်ကျမဆုံး။ မိုဗ်းပေါက်ကရွံ့၊ တိမ်တိမ်ခြေရုံးပါလို့၊ အုံးခြိမ့်ခြိမ့်ညံ့။
တည့်မွန်နေခြည်ဖြာမှနွေးတယ်၊ ထွေးလုံတတ်ပေါင်၊ သဲစသောင်နန်းမြေငေးမှာ၊ ချမ်းတုန်လို့၊ လေသွေရာ
ချို၊ ရွှေဖိကမွှေး၊ ဝတ်ပန်းငုံခိုင်နှင့်။ မဲဇာမြိုင် ဂနိုင်ဘွေငယ်မှာ၊ ကြည်မြေမြေဆွေး။

In the first verse (1) စီးတွေတွေ, written with ဝေဝေ and not ထဆင်ထူး pronounce တွေ့ means "To flow incessantly." See 5th verse သီတာပတ်ကဲ့ လည်း။ တလုံးတည်းရေ။ စီးသွေ့တွေတည်း။ (2) မြိုင်ဘောဓဉ်က။ "ဓဉ်" ဝင်ဓဉ်။ To abound သစ်ပင်ထူ ထပ်သောတော။ (3) တ ရှာဘောမိ။ တ-ရှာဘောမိ and တမိရှာဘော။ have the same meaning is placed last to rhyme with မိ, which is common in poetry. (4) မိုးရှိ လျှင်မိုး၏ပမာဏကျယ်ဝန်းလှ သာကြက်ငှက်ရေဆိုလိုသည်။ that is to say, "as wide as" and not "as high as" the sky မိတ်ဆီးချယ်သန်း။လျှင်ရောင်တန်းမျှ။ (မိတ်ဆီး) မိတ်ဆီး "မိတ်ပေါင်း" obstruct "ချယ်" Read ရှပ်မြယ် for (ချယ်) အချင်ဆေးခြယ်သည်။ မျက်စုံမြယ်သည်။ ရွှေစား တော်သွင်းတွင်။ "လျှောက်ပတ်ခွေးချယ်၊ မျက်စုံမြယ်သား၊ စလယ်လက်ကောက်" ။ဟူ၍ခွဲထားပစ်ဆိုသည်။ (သန်း) ကူးသန်း၊မြတ်သန်း၊ထောင့်သန်း။ လျှင်ရောင်တန် မျှ To go across.

The Shwezedi and other several pagodas built by the king's grandfather were so beautiful that they appeared, as if a vivid flash of light was running in the sky by lightning, and the Poet, imagining this, wished to see them directly together with the golden palace and other palatial buildings. In that case မိတ်ဆီးခြယ်သန်း၊လျှင်ရောင်တန်းမျှ။ refers to the pagodas and not to the palace.

In the second verse (1) တကျွန်းလောက်ဝင်၊ဝေးမည်ထင်ခဲ့။ "တကျွန်း" here indicates the four great islands (ကျွန်းကြီးလေးကျွန်း) (2) ထပ်ထပ်ထွန်းထိ။ "ထပ်ထပ်" ပေါ်ရာဏပျိုဝကော။ မျက်မြင်။ Presence. ဇနုးပျို 'ထပ်ထပ်ထွန်းထိန်း၊မွန်းတည့်ချိန်တွင်' 'နေသည်ထင်ရှားစွာ အားကြီးပူတုံးဆိုလိုသည်။ မဲဇာမြစ်သည်။ ချုံပိတ်ပေါင် ။ ထူထူ ထဲထဲ၊ရှုတ်ရှုတ်ပျက်ပျက်။ ရေတည်းသိုထင်ရှားစွာအားကြီးထွန်းထွတ်လျက်။ မြစ်ရေသည်။ရစ်ပတ်၍၊တသွင်သွင်မီးသည်။ဆိုလိုသည်။ (ထွန်း) To protrude. (ထိ) To touch (ထပ်ထပ်) Doubling the sense of (ထွန်းထိ) most visible or striking. The overhanging thickets so thickly and conspicuously shoot out into the Meza river that the water flows windingly and gurglingly.

In that case I do not think that the author would at all write about the formation of shoals or sandbanks in the Meza river while he was recalling to his mind the lovely sandbanks and shoals along the river of his country in the lower regions. It is obvious the invisibility of the pole star was due to the thickness of the fog and other atmospheric moisture, and not because of the overhanging thickets. See 3rd verse တောင်ငွေဝေဝေ။အထွေထွေနှင့်။ (3) တောကြီးဆိတ်ညံ့ဆည်းကဲ့ကဲ့။ porana "ဆည်းကဲ့ကဲ့" လှသံငှက်သံမကြားရ။ တိတ်ဆိတ်သည်။ "မဆိုဘဲညံ့" To be still literally (ညံ့) noise (ဆိတ်) is silent. (ဆည်း) To be quiet နေငင်ဆည်းဆာ။ generally the quiet time of the day. ကဲ့ကဲ့။ To be noisy ညံ့ညံ့စီစီ။ Literally it means a place where (ကဲ့ကဲ့) noise (ဆည်း) is quiet. Doubling the sense of quietness ဘုန်းတော်ဘွဲ့လေးချိုးဟွင်။"ရွှေကန်တော့ခံ၊ညီလာခံမှာ၊ကဲ့ကဲ့ညိဉ်ခဲ၊မြတ်သဘင်ပွဲတွင်။" (4) နေကိုတလည်။ (နေ) The sun (နေ) daylight. The period from sunrise to sunset. In that case the author was wishing for the sun. နေကိုမမြင်ရ၍၊တောင်မြောက်လေးပံး မသိဟုဆိုလိုသည်။ As the forest was very wild and still, dense and foggy, and as the pole star as well as the sun for which he had intense desire, were not visible the poet was not able to guess the four cardinal points. (5) လေပြည်လာက သေသင်ကြောင့် "as sorrows crowning sorrow" တောလားသီချင်းခံကြီးတွင် "လေပြည်ဆော်သွေး X X လွမ်းပိုက်အောင်သာ လေညှင်းငယ်မှာ။" နေမြည်မြာမှ၊နွေးသော်ကြောင့် "as joy lessening sorrow" (က) and (မ) have reverse meaning.

In the third verse the expression ခုန့်ရှာလွန်၍ does not refer to the sun, but to the Poet himself. ယုန်ထင်ရှား . . . နေခြည်ဖျာမှူးရွေးသောကြောင့် The sun on the top of mount "Yugan" is deprived of its lustre. "To escape the piercing cold, I count the hours and earnestly long for the early approach of noontide as the sunbeam gives warmth."

KYIN HAN,

T. D. M.

A Cambodian (?) Invasion of Lower Burma—a comparison of Burmese and Talaing Chronicles.

The following note has been largely compiled from information kindly supplied me by the Rev. R. Halliday, who writes :—

“ The account of the Cambodian invasion of the Thaton kingdom (assuming that we are right in the identification with the Krom) is found in the short history of Thaton which forms the first part of the *Rajadhirat* Volume (Paklat press), pp. 22, 23. It took place in the reign of Udinna, the predecessor of Manuha. This prince is said to have reigned thirty years. So that taking the accepted date of 1050 (? 1060)¹ A.D. for the fall of Thaton, this invasion must have taken place in the first half of the eleventh century.” The passage as translated by Mr. Halliday, runs as follows :—

“ Udinna was made king, and at that time the Krom came in great numbers. The King of Thaton sent up ministers to petition the king of Arimandanapura, the ruler of Pagan, who had four warriors, namely, Talan Kesa, Wewaru, Lumlakphoa, and Manumbi. These four at once came to Thaton. When the king of Thaton saw only the four he was ill pleased and thus spoke : “ We indeed wanted elephant and horse a great host, and here your king has sent but these four. How much can they help us ? ” When the king had said this the four spoke up. “ Oh ruler of the land, we four whom our lord has sent are equal to forty thousand horse. If Your Majesty would know, be pleased to go out into the field, and graciously view our powers.” At once the king going down to the south-east of the city, took a place out of danger. The four warrior horsemen parting from the king some little distance rode round and round him, going so fast that they formed a complete circle as they went round. It was just as when one swings round a firebrand, they ran round without intermission. Having viewed the display the king gave the four warriors presents in abundance. Seven days having gone past, the king with the six warriors, two Mon and four Burmese, and a great army of elephant and horse without number, marched forth to the south to the city. The host being in such numbers that they could not be counted, the king caused them to be measured in a great tank. This tank is called Kamā Sū² to this day. Leaving there they reached the Krom army, and the warriors attacked in four divisions. Each with the point of his dagger killed a great number. They were so bespattered with the blood of the slain that their bodies became joined on to their horses. Having won the victory the king marched into the city. The warriors, stuck on the backs of their horses, were ordered by the king to dip themselves, horse and rider, in the tank and be thoroughly bathed and cleansed, after which they drew near to the king's presence. Having fed them with savoury foods, and presented them

¹ Mr. Duroiselle (*Epig. Birm.*, Vol. I, p. 6), gives the date 1057 A.D. (*Ed.*)

² ကမာ (Kamā) ; a pond or tank. ဆာ (Sao), to measure as grain is measured with a basket.

with rewards without number, the king made a seven days' feast for the four warriors. The king of Thaton sent by the hand of the four warriors a daughter of great beauty together with her weight in gold to be presented to the king of Pagan. On reaching Pagan when the king had them weighed for his satisfaction, it was found that the princess was heavier than the weight given. From that time on it was said that she was heavy in pregnancy. When the four warriors were examined it was found that the blame rested on Talan Kesā. The king was roused to jealousy and ordered the two hands of the offender to be firmly bound. He then threw a spear at Talan Kesā, but so great was the influence of his *paramitta* that the point of the spear cut the cord by which he was bound, and seizing the spear he made his escape. Eight years from that time having passed away, the king of Pagan died and Anuruddha becoming king, Talan Kesā returned to the court. Going up to the king's presence he became a great warrior."

The corresponding passage in the Hmannan Yazawin (Mg. Tin's translation) runs as follows:—

Chapter 136 (Vol. I). "Of the sending of Kyanzittha, Nga Htweyu, Nga Lonlephphè and Nyaung-u Hpi to Ussa Pegu to help in the war."

One day it was reported: "An host of Gywan warriors hath marched on Ussa Pegu. Send us help to fight them!" Said Anawrahtaminsaw "Good horsemen, four hundred thousand, shall be sent to succour you!" So the messengers returned. And the king caused his four captains, Kyanzittha, Nga Htweyu, Nga Lonlephphè and Nyaung-u Hpi, to disguise them in the garb of spirits, and with their followers and fourscore Kalā footruners go to help in the war. Now when they came the king of Ussa Pegu spake words of dudgeon: "Horsemen four hundred thousand were to be sent; and forsooth four horsemen come!" But the four riders on demon horses said "Speaketh he thus about us?"; and they discovered divers feats of skill and prowess in such places as cucumber plantations. And the king of Ussa Pegu and all the people marvelled and extolled them saying "They are not men but spirits. We have never seen—nay, we have never heard of their like." And the king was glad and offered store of presents. Now when the Gywan warriors came up with a great host of horse and elephants, the demon horsemen charged into their midst, splitting the Gywan army into four divisions; and the generals of those four divisions—Aukbraran, Aukbrare, Aukbrabon and Aukbrapaik—they captured alive. And the Gywan warriors dropped their arms and weapons from their hands and fled with naught but a loin cloth. The four demon-horsemen presented the four generals they had captured to the Ussa king; and he was exceeding glad and gave them great rewards.

Now the Ussa king sent to Anawrahtaminsaw his daughter as a gift. Her name was Manicanda. She was his favourite daughter, and of golden colour, and her weight was just that of an image of a lion. Moreover he sent the sacred relic worshipped by the line of Ussa kings, who kept it in a golden casket. And the four demon horsemen took each their turn to convey the princess Manicanda. One day when it was Kyanzittha's turn

to watch, he lay with her, and lo! when they weighed her against the lion-image, the lion-weight was light and the body of the princess heavy. And the three captains when they knew it told Anawrahtaminsaw that so it was while Kyanzittha took his turn to watch. Anawrahtaminsaw waxed exceeding wroth and cried: "Did he so? Shewed he no reverence to such a king as I?" And he glowered on him and bound him with ropes and hurled at him the Arindama lance. But Kyanzittha's karma was not yet fulfilled, and he escaped, for the blow fell upon the rope that bound him that it snapped. And Kyanzittha caught up the Arindama lance and fled"

[The story continues with a long account of Kyanzittha's wanderings:]

Later we are told that "Anawrahtaminsaw built a *sigon* pagoda over the sacred hair-relic presented by the Ussa king, and worshipped it. That pagoda he named Mahapeinnè. This is the history of the sacred hairs presented by the Ussa king. King Dwattabaung destroyed the *sedi* built by Balika—one of the two built by the brothers Taphussa and Balika—, and taking the four hairs built a *sedi* at Tharehkittara and worshipped it. On the destruction of Tharehkittara the Talaing kings destroyed that pagoda and removed once more the four hairs. Two hairs they enshrined in the Shwemawdaw pagoda, and one at Kyaikko. One hair was that which the succession of Talaing kings worshipped, keeping it in a gem-embroidered casket in the palace."

Mr. Halliday writes:—The accounts seem to correspond at every point except that details are different. The names of the captains or warriors agree practically except in the first instance. I suppose Kyanzittha had to be brought in by the Burmese writer. There are discrepancies in the matters of the reign in the upper country and the city or state in the lower country.

As to the identification of the Krom with the Cambodians I think I must have got it from the Mons themselves. There are only two other references to the name that I can name meanwhile and they by no means make the matter clear. In an enumeration of the nakshatras or lunar mansions in the Lokasiddhi of the Monk of Acwo' (Paklat edition, page 6) each is assigned to a state and usually an animal sign given. The first with the sign of a horse shows the state Krom. The second points to Pagan and the third to Arakan, and so on, though there is no particular order followed. Krom is said to refer to Cambodia. The other instance is found in the work Gavampati, as printed in the Rajadhirat (Paklat) Volume, page 45. The passage apparently refers to the revolt of the tributary kings in the time of stress under Nanda Bureng. An army of Krom Chiengmai is said to have marched on Pegu at the same time as the Shans of Mogaung and Monyin were doing the same. The Siamese of Ayuthia had occupied Rammapura (Moulmein), and a naval force had taken Martaban. There is no doubt, I think, that the name applies to a

people living east of Burma. Krom is written ကွမ် in Talaing. Copied into Burmese it would no doubt be written ကွမ်.¹

In reply to a query as to the relative dates of the two accounts, Mr. Halliday writes:—"I should judge the Talaing story to be the older. I have no date for its composition, but it was most likely written before the Hmannan was compiled. The Burmese writer was more likely to be making it fit in with his other materials."

The tale in the Hmannan, so Maung Ba Kya informs me, is almost identical with that in the older Chronicle of Maung Kala. The Middle Chronicle omits the names of the generals and gives a shorter account of the battle, but mentions a hair-relic as the one sent by the grateful king of Pegu, and so viss as the weight of the lion image. The New Chronicle of Twinthintaikwun also mentions the hair relic, notes that the four horsemen "exhibited their feats by riding on their four demon horses so as to appear like 400,000 horsemen," and explicitly states that the event took place "in the year when Thaton was destroyed." This last fact is important, for the Hmannan, mentioning no date, places it towards the end of Anawrahta's reign, at a long interval after its account of the capture of Thaton.

The New Chronicle is here supported by inscriptions. I extract the following (Maung Tin's translations):—

(i) Sakkalampa Pagoda Inscription, Yenangyaung (copy) B-II, page 627. "In 418 Sakkaraj (1056 A.D.) king Siritaripavaradhammarajadhipati Noratā, returning from war with the Gywam² soldiers, built a cave-pagoda shaped like a lotus pot."

(ii) Hthilaingshin Pagoda Inscription, Pareinma (original) A, page 18. To this pagoda, built in 1107 A.D., Kyanzittha is said to have dedicated "a Talaing scholar of great wisdom who was brought captive after the Talaing kingdom of Ussāla was utterly destroyed."

(iii) The fragmentary Monk Matima Inscription (original; A, page 11) begins: "...Sakkaraj 448" (1086 A.D.) "having informed Anawrahtaminsaw, Ussā-Peku Asawkyathaing appointed a ruler . . . virtue, uprightness and wisdom."

(iv) Mahapeinnè Inscription, Ywalin (copy) B-II, p. 528. "In 416 Sakkaraj" (1054 A.D. The Malun copy on page 633 reads "346 Sakkaraj," which is impossible) "Anoraddhaminsaw conveyed the sacred hair from Thaton and enshrined it."

¹ In the Hmannan the invaders are called ကွမ် (Gywam:); in the Middle Chronicle (MS. in Kinwun Mingyi's library) ကွမ် (Kywam). In the published volume of inscriptions the word (Sakkalampa inscription B-II, p. 627) reads as in the Hmannan, but the text may not be reliable, for Mr. Duroiselle (p. 4, "List of inscriptions found in Burma," Part I, 1921) in describing this inscription calls the invaders "Yun." Whether Yun and Gywam are originally the same word, seems very doubtful; they are used in different senses by modern Burmese scholars, Yun applying to the people of the Shan States and Laos, Gywam to Siamese. Yun is no doubt derived from Yavana (Ionians), as M. Pelliot has shewn (B. E. F. O. 1904, p. 276), and hence the Burman has made Laos the scene of the Milindapañha

² Query, "Yun"? See footnote above.

The questions at issue are (i) whether Krom = Gywam = Cambodian, (ii) whether the town attacked was Pegu or Thaton, or both, (iii) the date of the invasion. With regard to the first question I have consulted two of the French histories of 11th century Cambodia. M. Adhémard Leclère (*Histoire du Cambodge* page 169) states that the names of some Môn slaves are found in the Ta-Prohm inscription, but comments on the remarkable absence of allusion to Burma in the Khmer inscriptions. M. Aymonier (*Le Cambodge*, volume III, pages 503-4) says: "We know scarcely anything of the foreign relations of the empire of Sūryavarman I." (fl. 1002—1050 A.D.). He quotes Garnier: "According to some traditions Cambodia engaged in a struggle against the king Anauratha who reigned at Pagan at the beginning of the 11th century", and adds "This version would appear to be confirmed by a reading we once made on an inscription in the vulgar tongue of Champa, dated 1050 A.D. (972 Saka) and so contemporary with our Sūryavarman, in which Cham, Cambodian, Chinese, Syam (Siamese) and Vūkām (that is to say, Peguan) slaves are mentioned." On pages 601 and following, referring to the struggles between the Peguans and Cambodians during the 13th century, he gives the following retrospective details: "They first appear in a Cham inscription of 1050 A.D., then again, under the dates 1207 and 1233 A.D., together with the Kur or Kvir (Khmers), the Lov (Chinese), and the Syām (Siamese). They are known under the name Vukām, Bukām, *i.e.* the race and country called by the Chinese Pou Kan, Pu Kam, Phu Kam, which they place to the west of 12th century Cambodia and of which they say: 'In 1106 envoys from the kingdom of Pou Kan came to offer tribute. The king of Pou Kan is the sovereign of a great kingdom of *fan*.' . . . Anouradha appears to have fought against Cambodia. The Siamese Annals of the North speak in fact of the wars of Lovo, that is to say of Cambodia, against Anoratha Mang Tcho, king of Satoeun (Thaton) who had united under his sceptre the Mon (Pegu) and Burman (Phuméa) kingdoms." On page 606 M. Aymonier adds: "Of the conquest of Pegu by the Cambodians we only know from Chinese authors, who from 1195 onwards class Phou Kan among the possessions of Jayavarman VII" (1162—1201 A.D.). He does not quote his authority.

It is obvious that Bukām is Pagan and not Pegu, just as it is obvious that Phakho is Pegu and not, as M. Aymonier states in the same passage, Pagan. I need not labour the point as M. Pelliot (B.E. F. E.O. 1904, page 177) has long ago corrected the mistake. The same writer also shows (*op. cit.* page 236) that Lvo = Lavo = Lopburi. The reference to Mon slaves is not surprising; any trans-border raid might account for it; and the existence of 6th-7th century Mon inscriptions at Lopburi would seem to indicate that Mons were to be found, from the earliest times till now, across the frontier, if indeed there was one. That Pagan slaves, however, should be mentioned in a Cham inscription of 1050 A.D. is startling. By that date Anawrahta (whose dates are now given with some certainty as 1044—1077 A.D.), had barely started on his career of conquest; his capture of Thaton took place in or about 1057 A.D. His reign roughly coincides with that of Sūryavarman's successor, Udayadityavar-

man, of whom we are told: "Revolts troubled the reign of this king for about 15 years, from 1051—1066 A.D." (See the Preah Ngouk Inscription at Angkor Thom). It seems exceedingly improbable that a Cambodian invasion of Burma could have taken place during this period; yet the date given by the Sakkalampa inscription to the repulse of the Gywam (? Yun) is 1056 A.D. This inscription is only a copy, but it is difficult to believe it a fabrication, more especially as the date fits in well enough with that of the capture of Thaton. The allusion in the Siamese Annals would rather point to invaders of Shan or Thai race, then flooding steadily south. Provisionally, therefore, I prefer to look among these rather than the Khmers proper, for the Gywam or Krom invaders. If at this date they were regarded as synonymous with "Yun" (which seems possible enough), this theory is supported by the Burmese Chronicles which state that Anawrahta built a whole line of frontier fortresses to keep out the "Shan Yuns." ¹

As for the date, relying on the Sakkalampa inscription, I have rather assumed in the preceding paragraphs that the Talaing Chronicle places the event too early. If anything solid can be extracted from the Burmese Chronicles before the time of Anawrahta, it seems improbable that Pagan was in a position to send help to Lower Burma during the first half of the 11th century. The last two sentences in Mr. Halliday's translation would accord pretty well with the career of Kyanzittha as told in the Hmiannan if only we substitute "Sawlu" for "Anuruddha". I do not find insuperable the difficulty in identifying the name Talan Kesa with Kyanzittha; the other names are Burmese, and the Mon chronicler has clearly corrupted them. An *l* is elsewhere seen in Talaing where Burmese has a *y*, e.g., *kla* tiger, Burmese *kyā*; and a survival of this may perhaps be traced in Kyanzittha's alternative name, Kayalanzittha, for which the Hmiannan proposes a fanciful derivation. The fronting of a velar consonant into a post-dental before an *l* is a natural transition, and though, I think, it is not a feature in Talaing, it is very noticeable in Burmese phonetics, and may well have been copied thence in the Talaing version of the Burmese name. *Kesa*, for Burmese *cac sa*: (pronounced *sittha*), is, I imagine, a corruption.

The Talaing version, however, may be right in regarding Thaton as the enemy's objective. The confusion (if there is one) may be due to the mention of the hair-relic sent by the grateful king. The hair-relic said to be enshrined in the Shwemawdaw pagoda at Pegu is the most famous of its kind in Burma, and this may have tempted the late Burmese chroniclers

1. M. Pelliot (op. cit. p. 236) says: "There is then perfect accord between the Chinese texts, which place in Siam a country Lo-hou on the lower Menam and higher up a country Sien, and the data of epigraphy which shew us at Lophuri a country Ivo, whose soldiers are dressed like those of Cambodia and who may have been principally Cambodian, and a country of the Syin Kut, vassal of Cambodia since it furnished it with troops, but whose inhabitants differ in appearance and costume from the Cambodians." This perhaps gives us the true explanation of the Gywam—invaders from Lophuri, probably of mixed race but more Cambodianised than their northern neighbours. In any case I imagine they were at this time independent of the Khmers proper. The names of the four Gywam generals provide us clearly with a clue that might help to solve the question,

to make the alteration. The Mahapeinnè inscriptions, it will be noted, mention Anawrahta's taking of the hair-relic from Thaton—a point omitted by the Hmannan which only mentions 'relics.' The Pareinma Htihtaingshin inscription, it is true, speaks of the utter destruction of Ussālā (by whom, and when, is not stated); but Ussālā, as Mr. J. A. Stewart has pointed out to me, might refer not merely to Ussa-Peku but to any part of Ramaññadesa.¹ But again, Ussālā in this large sense, with its capital at Thaton, may have been the enemy's objective, and the town of Pegu the first point of attack.

Was Anawrahta's mission to Lower Burma one of attack or of defence? The latter, first, it seems; but indeed he seems to have played the rôle of the lion who, called to intervene between two warring jackals, solved the difficulty by devouring both.

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Postscript. While the above note was in the press I received the following further information from Mr. Halliday:—"I have been looking over Mr. Blagden's transcription of the Kalyani record. I had forgotten all about the mention of the Cambodians there. "Krom" is the word by which they are named there and it is used many times. It quite clearly stands for Kamboja of the Pali version. This therefore settles the identification of Krom with Cambodian."

Mr. Halliday's conclusion is, no doubt, justified; but assuming that the date (1056 A.D.) is right, and considering the state of civil war then existing in Cambodia, I still find it difficult to believe that it could have launched a proper campaign against Lower Burma; so I incline to think the invaders were Cambodianised peoples from the neighbourhood of Lopburi. In any case the above note is largely conjectural, and it will have served its purpose if it calls the attention of scholars to an incident which deserves further elucidation.

G. H. LUCE.

¹ See note on Ussa in Burma Archaeological Report, 1915, pp. 31-2.

Hīnayānism and Mahāyānism.

"What is Buddhism?" is the title of a modest pamphlet by R. Kinmura, Lecturer, Calcutta University, published by the Calcutta University Press under the auspices of the University authorities, being a reprint from the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. IV.

Dr. G. Kato, author of the *Science of Religion* and one of the greatest authorities in Japan, considers Buddhism to be the highest ethical or universal religion in the world, as distinguished from natural or national religion. But our author writes: "It (*i.e.*, Buddhism) has philosophical truth at its back, emotional faith in its front and ethics as its goal."

He next proceeds to explain what is meant by the word "Buddha" and to answer the question "what is Dharma?"

According to him a "Buddha" means "a personality harmonized with the truth of reality or Dharma (Buddha's doctrine)." As this truth about reality is absolute and eternal, Buddha's personality is also absolute and eternal. The conception of the oneness of Buddha and Dharma gave rise to the idea of Dharmakāya-Buddha. Through this idea, the historical Buddha, *i.e.*, the Rūpakāya-Buddha of the Hīnayānic school, became the Nirmānakāya-Buddha of the Mahāyānic. The combination of these two aspects of Buddhahood constitutes the Sambhogakāya-Buddha of the latter school, similar to the Saṃgha Brahma of Vedānta.

Dharma is the doctrine preached by the Buddha about potential truths, Buddha's personality being the connecting link between the potential truth and the doctrine. This Dharma has two sides corresponding to the two aspects of the world: (1) the peaceful, real state and (2) the sorrowful, apparent state. The former is noumenon and the latter phenomenon. The one aspect of the Dharma is the transcendental truth (*paramattha saccā*) of the noumenal aspect of the world (*i.e.*, *asaṅkhataloka*) and the other is the conventional truth (*samutisaccā*) of the phenomenal aspect of the same world (*i.e.*, *saṅkhataloka*). The former is ontology derived through Buddha's self-introspection (we prefer intuition) and the latter is phenomenology derived through external observation (shall we say intellection?). The former was exposed to the Tathāgata while the latter is exposed to ordinary mortals.

Our author calls the former the positive, and the latter the negative aspect of Buddhism. According to him the Hīnayāna doctrine is based on the negative, while the Mahāyāna is based on the positive. The former was preached from the stand-point of human beings (*puthujanas*) and the latter from Buddha's own stand-point without reference to any notion whatsoever of mankind. He writes:

"In the Hīnayāna, Buddha never demonstrated his conception of the reality of the world but only his conception of the actual, apparent world. Therefore Hīnayāna denies all external appearance of the world."

Further on, he says that Mahāyāna Buddhism "affirms all existence of the world and demonstrates the reality of all existence, showing that the world is not impermanent but permanent, not suffering but happy, not that there is not Ego but that there is Ego."

The learned author goes to discuss the Hīnayāna doctrine. In this doctrine Buddha demonstrated the sorrow, impermanence and the absence of ego and exhorted men to renounce "attachments" and insisted on their realising their selves in order that they might become arahants. "So the chief doctrine of original Buddhism is not Ontology but Phenomenology proper, the former belonging wholly to Mahāyāna doctrine."

The ontological aspect of the world is Nirvāna which is "just like the Nirguṇa Brahma of Vedānta philosophy. It cannot be described in human language and can only be realised by self-introspection (intuition)." The learned author attaches more importance to the Sopādhisesic aspect of Nirvāna than to the Nirupādhisesic, because the Buddha tried to impress upon the people by his teachings about it and by saying very little about the other aspect.

The author next proceeds to discuss Mahāyānism. He believes that this doctrine contains the original ideas of the Buddha but at the same time it underwent development after the death of the Buddha. Historically, the doctrine originated at the time of the Mahāsaṅghika separation at Vesali Council in 386 B.C. and was developed by Asvaghosa I, the author of the *Buddha Carita Kāvya* (a poem on Buddha's Character) and a contemporary of Kanishka the Great (140 A.D.) and attained full development from the time of Nāgarjuna to that of Asvaghosa II, i.e., from about the end of the 2nd century to the 5th century A.D. Nāgarjuna referred to the *Saddharma pūṇḍrika sūtra* which is the acknowledged authority on Mahāyānism. Asvaghosa II was the author of *Mahāyāna Sraddhotpāda Sastra* or the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna.

Our author says: "Buddha never preached openly the doctrines of Mahāyāna in his life-time because his mission was to lead human beings to salvation." But he believes that the Buddha discoursed on Mahāyāna to advanced disciples only. In the Mahāyāna doctrine "the phenomenal world is identified with the noumenal world invariably."

Again, the author writes: "From human point of view everything, every existence is impermanent but according to Buddha's introspectional perception (intuition) this kind of consideration is simply due to defusion or false knowledge." That is to say, "from the ontological point of view every existence is permanent and real."

Our author adds: "In the Mahāyānic Buddhism all the individual beings are identified with Mahātmā, i.e., the absolute ego." Mahātmā is not different from Nirguṇa Brahma of Vedānta. "Mahātmā" is synonymous with "Dharmakāya" or "Buddhacittaṃ."

According to Mahāyānism the world is a Buddhakṣetra, i.e., the field of Buddhas, that is to say, every being is a Buddha through eternity, summed up in the formula: "I was, am, and will be, a Buddha."

While Hinayānism teaches only self-salvation, Mahāyānism also makes provision for the salvation of others. That is to say, Arahantship is the only end to be allowed in the former while Buddhahood is the goal in the latter.

In the above outline I have endeavoured to set forth our author's views as concisely as possible without adding any comments. The author has endeavoured to make his exposition as clear as possible even at the expense of repetitions which I have omitted. But he is confused between subjective truth and objective reality. In fact he has not attempted to define reality. His "Dharmatathātā" is Asvaghosa's "Bhūta-tathātā." The latter has been translated by Suzuki "suchness" as opposed to "thisness" or "thatness." In our opinion "suchness" implies a comparison and therefore relativity, while "thisness" or "thatness" implies absolute reality. Our author's rendering of "Bhūtatathātā" by 'as it was' is nearer the mark. The expression means 'as it really is' *i.e.*, 'as it becomes.' But he is not very clear in his ideas of 'permanency' and 'continuity' when he speaks of 'continuous permanency' on p. 51. On the same page, he says: "Man is born and dies. There is also permanency considering the continuity of this phenomenon." He obtains his idea of this "continuous permanency" from the expression *anādi ananta* which means "without a beginning and without an end," giving us the idea of eternity. But a self-same soul may be eternal or a flux may be equally eternal. The author has failed to develop the idea of flux. He writes on p. 50: "Just look at the ocean: waves are rising now and then. They are always changeable. But without water there can be no waves—they are only a form of water. What is water then? It is unchangeable and permanent. The waves are essentially the same water."

This inability to recognise the flux theory seems to have led many schoolmen of Mahāyānism to fall into the error of Vedāntāism to which our author clearly leans.

Notwithstanding the errors of interpretation on the part of followers, great credit was due to the noble founders of the Mahāyānic school, characterised as it is by such an excellent ideal as Buddhahood. These great thinkers evinced the subtlety of Indian speculation.

We believe, however, that there is no fundamental difference between Hinayānism and Mahāyānism in so far as principles of philosophy are concerned. The former is complete in itself dealing with both the ontological and phenomenological aspects in the same way as the latter does. Only exponents or interpreters of Hinayānism do not sufficiently discriminate between what the Buddha said from the people's point of view and what he said from his own or Ariya point of view. We have attempted this difficult task in a series of articles. Those who read our articles on the Buddhist Philosophy of the Real, the Buddhist Philosophy of Change and the Dialogue on Nibbāna in the pages of this Journal will recognise that we have been unconsciously Mahāyānic in many respects.

The Buddha spoke of only one yāna or vehicle by which every one has to travel towards Nirvāna, the realisation of the Reality, the Flux. It is a Buddhayāna. But as there were three grades of Buddhas, namely, Sāvaka-Buddha, Pacceka-Buddha and Sammā-Sambuddha, Northern Buddhists began to speak of Sāvakayāna and Paccekabuddha-yāna. Since Sāvakas or Disciples and Special Buddhas are inferior to the fully Enlightened, the term 'Mahāyāna' began to be applied to the school which aims at supreme Buddhahood and the term 'Hīnayāna' was applied somewhat contemptuously by Mahāyānists to the school which permits the majority of mankind to be followers rather than leaders, *i.e.*, to content themselves with the aim of arahantship. It may be observed here that these terms are not known to Buddhist monks of Burma as a matter of fact, the ship or the vehicle is one and the same manned by a captain and his crew. Each Mahāyānist asks, why should not I captain the boat? The majority of Hīnayānists reply: It is not in the nature of things that every one can be captains at the same time. It is easier to follow than lead. If one wants to be sole leader he has to bide his time and prolong his efforts through aeons of ages.

This, in our opinion, is the sole difference between the two schools, *i.e.*, not in fundamental principles of doctrine but in respective ideals. Thus every Mahāyānist is a Bodhisatva in different stages of evolution. This would account for the worship of the Bodhisatva Arimitteyya, our future Buddha. Our last embryo Buddha before his descent from Tusita had to "look down" (*oloketi*), our future Buddha will do the same. Hence the conception of *avalokitesvāra* ('the Lord who looks down'). But Mahāyānists seem to be bold logicians. They would push their arguments to rigid conclusions. Thus it would be perfectly logical for a corrupt Mahāyānist to say that since Bodhisatvas committed all kinds of sins other than untruthfulness in their careers a Mahāyānist may equally commit them. If a Bodhisatva in his last existence as Prince Siddhartha left his Home after getting a son, why should not Lamas of Tibet marry? Some such arguments would naturally lead to corruptions that have crept into the Mahāyānic creed. Hence its admixture with the magic of the Tantric system.

S. Z. A.

THE KADUS.

[“The Kadus of Burma” by R. Grant Brown. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Volume I, Part III.

“Kadu and its Relatives.” by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. Volume II, Part I.]

1. The proper classification of the Kadu language has long been a puzzle to those interested in the peoples and languages of Burma and numerous efforts have been made to solve it. The latest efforts, and those which have brought us nearest to a correct solution, are to be found in the two papers referred to above. Before proceeding to examine these we shall find it of interest to refer to the earlier researches of Sir George Scott and of Messrs. Bernard Houghton, C. C. Lewis, C. Morgan Webb and H. Clayton, all present or retired administrators of this Province.

2. Sir George Scott strongly favours the “dish-clout” theory. The following quotations do full justice to his point of view.

“Who the Kadus were originally remains uncertain, but now they are little more than Burmese and Shan half-breeds with traces of Chin and possibly Kachin blood. If they ever had a distinct language it is now extinct or has been modified so much by all its neighbours as to be little better than a kind of Yiddish”

“The conclusion is irresistible that the Kadus never were anything but a mixed race and came into existence where they are now found.”¹

“It seems probable that the Kadus are just as much dregs as the populations of the South American republics, and are like nothing so much as a dish-clout, which retains traces of everything it has been rubbed against.”²

3. Mr. Bernard Houghton proceeds on more scientific lines. He compares lists of words with the vocabularies of other languages and recognizes their intimate connection with the Saks of the Kuladaing Valley in Arakan and considers that these two races must have formed one people until quite recent times. He regards them as “comparatively recent immigrants into Burma” and an “advance guard of the Kachin race.” He affiliates them with the Kachin-Naga sub-family and considers their original habitat to have been North-eastern Tibet”. (Indian Antiquary. May 1893).

4. Mr. Lewis, in the Census Report for 1902, tells us that the Kadu language “like the people by whom it is spoken, has almost lost its

¹ “Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States.” Part I. Vol. I, pages 569—575.

² “Burma. A handbook of practical commercial and political information.” Page 69.

identity." And adds that, "pending further information, Kadu, which will very shortly be an obsolete form of speech, has been assigned a place in the Burmese group of languages." He considers the Kadus to be so rapidly losing their identity and assimilating themselves to their neighbours that it "seems doubtful whether the problem of their origin will ever be satisfactorily solved" (pages 77 and 127).

Elsewhere as the Burma Superintendent of the Ethnographical Survey of India, he writes:—

"A link that may be looked upon as connecting the Chins with the communities to the east is provided by the Kadus of the Katha District of Upper Burma. The Chin element in the Kadus is very faint. They are for the most part, like the Danus, a Burmese-Shan compound, but they have also an appreciable mixture of Kachin besides the trace of Chin. They are the result of fusion of all four stocks, though how much of each of the component parts went to make up the whole it is impossible now to say. Their language, which contains a large number of Kachin and a few apparently Chin words as well as Burmese and Shan, is fast dying out and they are now more or less Burmanized". ("The Tribes of Burma," page 25.)

5. Mr. Morgan Webb gives his opinions in the Burma Census Report for 1912 (see pages 192-3). He considers that the Kadus in their origin were a tribe intermediate between the Chin and the Kachin branches of the Western Tibeto-Burman invasion."

"The Kadu language is a hybrid of such doubtful ancestry that it is difficult to assign it definitely to any group in the classified scheme of languages. It contains traces of Chin, Kachin, Shan and Burmese in its composition Unless a careful study is made of a language which is rapidly disappearing it is probable that the predominant element in its composition will never be determined. At present all that can be said is that it is probably the result of an amalgamation of two distinct stocks. The first is a Chin dialect with an admixture of a few Kachin elements. . . . The second stock is a language of the Burma group introduced by refugees from the country of Maha Myaing, one of the numerous independent tribes of the period of the early Burmese colonisation of the Irrawaddy Valley. . . . The inclusion of the Kadu dialect in the Burma group is tentative only, until the fundamental structure of the language can be definitely determined. An interesting suggestion that the Kadus were one of the original Burmese tribes has been made by Mr. Grant Brown in the Gazetteer of the Upper Chindwin District The prediction of Mr. Lewis that it will very shortly be an obsolete form of speech is approaching realization."

6. Mr. Clayton has given his account in his Settlement Report for the Katha District. He tells us:—

"The origin of the Kadus has long been a vexed question. There are five or six different tribes among them, but all trace their descent from one or sometimes from both of two distinct stocks. The first describe

themselves as Chingyan or alternatively Chingywin-Chingyan, *i. e.*, the remnant of the Chins.

"These claim to be aboriginal inhabitants who have always lived on the slopes of the Maingthon mountain, having affinities with the Kachins of further north . . . The second stock claim to be refugees from the country of Mahamyaing in the Shwebo and Upper Chindwin Districts after the fall of the Princess of Peinthano, a city on the Sebadin Chaung, before King Duttabaung of Thayekettaya or Prome."

"The Kantu refugees to Katha coalesced with the wild tribes of the Maingthon range and of the Upper Chindwin and produced the Kadu as we know him. . . . The Kadu language has admittedly been acquired since the people took refuge in the hills and the Kadus of Pyinsala on the Shwebo border disclaim all knowledge of it. It is a jargon of Burmese, Shan and Kachin words, and it is probable that what special peculiarities it has of its own is derived from Chingyan sources."

7. Mr. Grant Brown's earliest reference to the Kadus is to be found in the Gazetteer of the Upper Chindwin District where he wrote: "From what little is known of their language it appears to be, like the Taman, cognate to Burmese." "Kadu was the language of one of the tribes which came into Burma long ago and eventually formed what is now the Burmese people." Since expressing this opinion he has been stationed in the Katha District and has managed to make a fruitful investigation into the language, the result of which is the valuable vocabulary, text and notes published in his article in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. This material renders it possible, for the first time, for Kadu to be properly and scientifically studied. He claims that it "disposes of the theory that Kadu is a hybrid language (or, as described in the Katha Settlement Report, a jargon of Burmese, Shan and Kachin words of recent origin), and shows it to be a language with a distinct vocabulary belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family and closely resembling Burmese in structure and sound-system (page 9.) The vocabularies, however, have few roots in common, if borrowed words be excluded." (page 10).

He compares its words with Balti, Gurung, Bara, Naga, Kachin and Lolo dialects representing distinct language groups and finds that "Nearly every group has some root in common with Kadu which none of the others have, or have only in a form considerably modified. . . . The Kadu has special affinities with members of the Tibeto-Burman family lying as far apart as Western Tibet, Assam and China. Clearly it is not a 'jargon of Burmese, Shan and Kachin,' but a member of the Tibeto-Burman family of legitimate and respectable descent." (page 12).

8. Here the matter would probably have remained had not Sir George Grierson brought his wide knowledge and trained faculties to bear upon it. His views are expressed in the second of the two articles in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies referred to above. They may be quoted and summarized as follows:—

"The Katha District of Burma, in which the Kadus are found, lies close to the State of Manipur. This latter is one of the most polyglot

tracts in India. . . . Amongst other elements of the population there are certain servile tribes named Lui or Loi, who have languages of their own, which are quite distinct from Meit'ei (*i.e.* Manipuri) and indeed from any other form of speech found in the State." Two of these, Andro and Sengmai (now extinct, though vocabularies are preserved in Major W. McCulloch's "Account of the Valley Munnipore") are closely connected. Their correct affiliation is an unsolved problem, though they belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. The comparative vocabulary given at the end of the paper shows that they are "closely related with Kadu."

Andro, Sengmai and Kadu belong therefore to one Tibeto-Burman group which may be called the Lui Group. "This group is distinct from the neighbouring Kuki-Chin, Kachin and Naga groups and must be given an independent standing. Its origin and its relationship to other Tibeto Burman groups are, at present, mysteries that, perhaps, will never be solved." The fact that the Luis are servile tribes suggests that "they are probably descended from early Tibeto-Burman inhabitants of Manipur, before that country was inhabited by the Meit'eis. This would lead us to look upon their condition as parallel to that of the Szi, Lashi, Maru and P'un tribes of Burma, who appear to have been either remnants left in Northern Burma by the ancestors of the present Burmese in their migration from the North into Southern Burma, or else were tribes of the same origin as the Burmese, who left Tibet soon after them. Similarly, it looks as if the Luis were survivors of an early Tibeto-Burman immigration from the North—left stranded in Manipur and in the neighbouring parts of Burma, and in later years overwhelmed by subsequent invasions."

9. One or two remarks may now be made with reference to Burmese History. The Kadus are closely related to the Saks. The Kadu name for themselves is also Sak or ǎ-Sak, so that it is probable that the Saks and Kadus are the modern remnants of an old Sak Tribe. A tradition current in Katha states that the Kadus came originally from the neighbourhood of Pagan, and there is a Burmese proverb about scratching a Taungdwingyi man and finding a Kantu which suggests (if Kadu=Kantu just as taga=tanka) that the Kadus were certainly domiciled at one time even further south than Pagan.

In early days, according to Burmese History, there were three tribes, the Pyus, Kanrans and Saks co-existing in the upper part of the Irrawaddy Valley. At the end of the Prome Dynasty, we discover the Pyus, Kanran and Myanma engaged in conflict in the old Prome Kingdom. If the Pyus and the Kanrans had come so far south it is possible that some of the Saks had come down with them and may have been the people subsequently known as the Kantus. Other Saks are supposed to have travelled from their original settlement in North Burma in a south-westerly direction into Arakan. Possibly some of these subsequently passed on into Manipur and became the ancestors of the Andro and Sengmai tribes,

Those Saks who, as Kantus, lived in the neighbourhood of Taungdwingyi or Pagan may very probably, in accordance with tradition and in the same manner as the Pyus, have been driven to the North, one branch settling down in the Katha District and another moving westward into Arakan where an older branch of the same race had already preceded them.

Another supposition is that the Saks and the Kantus were two different peoples: the Saks remaining in the northern part of the Province in Katha and Arakan, and the Kantus coming up from the south and amalgamating with them. The Saks would then constitute the Chingyin-Chingyan referred to by Mr. Clayton. The Kadu language would almost certainly be that of the old Sak tribes, possibly modified by Kantu, for its relationship to the Sak of Arakan and to Andro and Sengmai of Manipur is so close that any alternative seems to be ruled out. If the language were that of the Kantu element we would have to suppose that the Kantus had imposed their speech not only upon the Kadus of Burma but also upon the Saks of Arakan and the early inhabitants of Manipur.

Both my suppositions, unfortunately, run counter to that of Sir George Grierson in one respect. According to him the 'Luis were survivors of an early Tibeto-Burman immigration *from* the North—left stranded in Manipur and in the neighbouring parts of Burma'. I have supposed exactly the opposite: either that the Luis, Saks and Kadus are the remnants of a secondary movement *to* the North, or, at best that the Kadus contain a Kantu element which had travelled to the North. Incidentally we may recall the fact that migrations to the North have been going on for centuries, and are still going on, in the Chin Hills and in the mountains of Eastern Assam.

Pace the pessimistic prophecies of the last twenty years that the Kadus were rapidly losing their identity as a race and that the Kadu language would soon be an obsolete form of speech, prophecies which seemed fully justified when the figures for the 1911 census were compared with those for the 1901 census, it is interesting to note that in 1921 the figures for Kadu race and language were both larger than have ever been recorded before.

L. F. T.

Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué (1920, 1921, Vols. VII & VIII).

Some friends are always old friends. I felt like that from my first meeting with the friends of old Hué. I hope that all of us, all we members of this Society, will feel like that; that is why I am introducing them. But first let me get the ceremony over. Who are the friends of Hué? We should call them, in our phlegmatic manner, the H.R.S., the Hué Research Society. The A.V.H., for they, like us, have the fashion of initials, is a society on all fours with the B.R.S. Hué was the capital of old Annam and the members of the Society are Frenchmen, Annamese and others who find a common interest in the history, arts and science of Annam and Indo-China. Old Hué is quite easy to find; you need only go straight east from Moulmein until you strike the sea. But it is easier to find your way there on the map than across country, and I have never been there. I met them; as we can all meet them, in the two volumes of their Bulletin which are now in our Library. When I looked into these volumes, the first paper which I saw was an apology from the editor, M. Cosserrat, for the late appearance of the journal; a qualified apology. This is what he says: "Number 1 of the Journal (for 1920) was despatched to members after some delay but shortly afterwards the following numbers succeeded at such close intervals that, by an unheard-of miracle, No. 4 only just missed seeing daylight before the end of the year. There are many reasons for these delays: remoteness from the printer complicated by the distance of the editor; long and not always secure postal communications; lack of copy or of the essential illustrations, and (though here we touch on a matter which, so far as I know, our editor has always been sufficiently tactful to avoid) political considerations that more than once have vetoed articles on which I counted and made it necessary to replace them. Often you grumble, amiably enough, at the delay of a number impatiently expected and I am more impatient than yourselves. But I am certain that if the editors of reviews printed in France were acquainted with the circumstances in which our journal keeps alive, and very much the same, they would be astonished that, with so many obstacles, such regularity can be observed." We have heard all that before, the same apologies, the same congratulations, and the same reasons. We can understand one another; we are friends.

We might almost claim relationship. We are working in different corners of the same field. For untold ages various people have wandered about Indo-China and, over the whole peninsula, the soil contains the dust of generations with a common ancestry. They used to tell me as a boy that every one renews his whole body every seven years. If that be true, even those of us who hail from Europe are children of the soil of Burma. We owe our flesh and blood and grey matter to the Burman peasant, to the rice of his fields, the fruit and vegetables of his garden, and the fowls of his backyard. But these in

turn derive from mother earth and the mould of bygone generations. So that, quite possibly, our editor and the editor of the A. V. H. are cousin-brothers, tracing their relationship through some Khmer family of which nothing else survives except the dreams which inspired its temples and a few odd turns of speech in unfamiliar dialects.

We have the same family weaknesses. Let me quote from Mr. Cosserat again: "Another reproach that is sometimes levelled at the journal is that one number is a little thin, or that another contains pages and pages of scientific matter which many readers find uninteresting; in a word, the numbers are uneven. To that I may answer that you should not judge the journal by its separate numbers. Certainly I do my best to make each of them complete in itself and a pleasure to the eye, with an artistic cover and numerous illustrations, where every one will find a morsel to his liking; where those who like strong meat will find original work; others, some little chronicle of former times, a diary of a journey, a column of art criticism, a piece of poetry, a picturesque description of Hué at the present time, and everything that attracts the general public. In fact I try to manage that every one shall say, as he handles a big volume artistically, even luxuriously, got up: Here, at least, is something for my money."

For our part, although we do give illustrations, we do not attempt the fascinating little coloured views which are scattered amongst these pages. Still less can we compare the sombre cover of our journal, with its medicinal suggestions of grey powder, and the designs in colour which make the Bulletin frankly a delight. Glance at them one by one. The first number for 1920 shows a little group of Chinese coolies casting a deep blue shadow as they make their way across the plains from purple mountains in the distance towards their midday camp. They are led by a long Chinaman on a little pony, and the uneasy posture of the rider suggests that he feels more wayworn even than his obviously exhausted pony. The second number shows a blue China jar, a dog, very Chinese, in peacock green lying down in front of a red label on a cover of old gold. The third is even more beautiful with an elaborate design of golden dragons in a field of scarlet. The cover of the last number for the year shows pink flowers on an intricate tracery of brown leafless branches with a background of pale yellow. So it goes on through the next year with a succession of elaborate and beautiful designs. The resources of the A. V. H. must be as infinite as the good taste of the editor and the skill of their artists. The contents match the cover; good paper, good pictures, and good reading matter. If we claim relationship we must admit that we are poor relations.

Many of the articles, of course, have little bearing on our immediate interests in Burma, but common threads run through history over the whole of Indo-China and we shall know more of Burma if we know Annam. Scattered about these numbers there are miscellaneous notes on Cham temples, passing allusions to the embassy of Crawford and, concerning us more closely, extracts translated from a "Book containing several

copies of Letters, Illustrations, Journals, etc., relating to the Pegu and Cochin-china trade, Fort St. George." Then there is a good deal of general interest; the tragi-comical historiette of the soldier who pushed a blind man into the water, a description of a Chinese pwe, and of the fat comprador among the audience who was unlucky enough to win a game of dominoes from a young lady with gauze sleeves; and "cela va lui coûter cher"; the history of European medicine in Annam; an address to Maréchal Joffre, telling the history of the corps of Annamese Sappers. One cannot put down the volumes without a feeling of regret for our own shortcomings. Still, we may be thankful for an example of what can be done, and can feel that we others also, here in Burma, are friends of old Huè.

J. S. F.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. III, Parts I & II.

What will most interest Burma readers in these two numbers, is the discussion, by the Chief of Aundh and Sir Richard Temple, of an illustrated edition of the Mahābhārata projected by the Bhandarkar Institute. At first sight one may ask—what has the Mahābhārata to do with Burma? For to the student of Burma nothing is more curious than the almost complete absence (so far as I am aware) of any old Burmese illustrations of scenes taken from the Indian epics—though they abound in Java, Champa, Cambodia and Siam. It is a remarkable evidence of the purity of Burmese Buddhism; for had Burma allowed much room for Brahmanism, it seems certain that these epics would have figured, as elsewhere, in her art. As it is, one may almost doubt if the Mahābhārata has been seen in Burma before the coming of the Elphinstone Bioscope.

On p. 34 of Part I, however, we notice that the Government of Burma has promised an annual grant of Rs. 500 for eight years to the projected publication. For this enlightened action Sir Reginald Craddock shares the credit with the Government of Bombay, which also makes a substantial contribution; one may guess, perhaps, that Mr. J. G. Covern-ton is the link between us.

Paying our scot, therefore, we are entitled, I think, to give our opinion on the proposed work. It seems intended to form a syndicate of artists under the supervision of the Chief of Aundh; and the point at issue (see Rupam No. 4, p. 35) seems to be whether the illustrations shall be works of scholarship or works of art. Apart from the difficulty of calculating on the latter in advance, I doubt if, *a priori*, it is in the nature of syndicates (nowadays, at least) to produce works of art; and agree, therefore, with the Chief and Sir Richard Temple in preferring the more feasible and humbler aim.

Notes, long and learned, follow on belts worn by the earliest Indian kings, their queens' headdresses, their cows and kitchens. This retrospective Idealism, this chasing of the age of Asoka back to the age of Gold

lends a tender grace to scholarship. If we must content ourselves with *pastiche*, by all means let us have *pastiche* on Sanchi, which will at least interest, whether it amuses or annoys, and not *pastiche* on the modern Bengal school, which is certain to be dull.

G. H. L.

Rupam—a Journal of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian, Nos. 1—10.

There is much that concerns Burma in this excellent periodical, even where Burma is not expressly mentioned. Burmese art is so bound up with Indian, that it is impossible to deal historically with the former without a thorough study of the latter, at least up to Muslim times. *Rupam*, however, though it includes many famous scholars among its contributors, is primarily concerned with art for its own sake, and is justly desirous of destroying the monopoly of archaeologists in Indian art. With this aim we wholeheartedly sympathise. Only bigots will question the enormous debt which India owes to archaeology, to men like Cunningham, Brandes, Foucher, Vogel and Sir John Marshall; but only bigots of another sort will doubt that Art exists for appreciation rather than analysis, for the soul rather than the brain, and that so long as Indian art retains a direct appeal to the former, archaeology must take a second place.

In No. 1, in an able article on the Kirtimukha—an architectural ornament common throughout India, Indo-China and the islands—we notice, as the one illustration taken from Burma, a sketch from one of the stone pillars of the Nanpaya at Myinpagan. It gives but a poor idea of the original, and is, we suspect, a copy of a copy, possibly of that in Fergusson (Vol. II, Plate XXXV).

No. 2 contains an article (p. 16) on "A Buddhist Image from Burma" with three illustrations. The image in question—a fairly modern one, as is shown by the glass mosaic—is a good specimen, and its artistic merit is ably treated by the writer. There is one passage, however, which is highly questionable:—"The Burmese school had strong affinities with the Siamese and Cambodian schools, by which later Burmese Art was greatly influenced and with which the Burmese school is liable to be confused. The leading types of Buddhist sculpture undoubtedly came from Cambodia or Siam; for the old Ramanya-desa (Pegu and Tenasserim) was under Cambodian rule from the 6th century to the 10th century A.D. and under Siamese rule in the 14th century"¹. The great reciprocal influence of Burmese and Siamese art from the time of Bayin-naung (16th century) onwards may be granted. Of Siamese domination in Pegu in the 14th century, the only evidence I know is the knotty question of the relations, in the early years of the century, between Wareru (or his bro-

¹ Since writing the above, we have lighted on what is probably the origin of this startling statement,—viz., an article by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in the *Indian Antiquary* (1893), "Notes on an Archaeological Tour through Ramannadesa." The learned author does not quote his authorities.

ther) and the king of Siam (? Phrah Ruang);¹ but there is no evidence, I think, or likelihood that Siamese (? Thai) art, at this early stage of its career, could have influenced Burma, whose art matured two or three centuries earlier. As for Cambodia, I do not know if there is any evidence of its having ruled Lower Burma "from the 6th to the 10th century", or indeed of its ever having held it, if we except the bare possibility of a king of Founan having once occupied Tenasserim in the 3rd century A.D.² For evidence of Cambodian influence on Burmese art we look in vain, unless it lies in the use of laterite in some pagodas of Lower Burma—a practice which may well have sprung up independently. Lunet de Lajonquière, who followed up the traces of Khmer art to their utmost limits, from Vieng-chang in the north to Pechaburi in the south, though he passed (rapidly) through Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui, found nothing Khmer on that side of the watershed, and little enough west of the Menam³.

No. 3 contains some fine illustrations of early Siamese sculpture, but the dates given are surely open to question. I doubt if many scholars would date the coming of permanent Buddhism to Siam from the time of Asoka—nearly 500 years before the first inscription, not in Siam, but in the whole of Indo-China. South-Indian influences may well have penetrated by sea from the Gupta period (320 A. D.) onwards or even earlier, and this would explain much in the pre-Thai antiquities discovered in the Menam valley. Lunet de Lajonquière (B. E. F. E. O. Tom IX 1909, p. 363) mentions "detached sculptures or bas-reliefs of an art very superior (to Khmer); the folds of draperies, traits of figures and headdresses of the various personages are, besides, very different and clearly recall similar works of Dravidian art." At this period there seem to have been two groups of population "evidently related but nevertheless different" who mostly professed a pure (sc. non-Khmer) form of Buddhism, though Brahmanism was also found. Of the coming of the Siamese (Thai) proper, almost our first knowledge (if we except the Chinese histories where the names are here difficult to identify) comes from the inscription of Rāma Kamheng of Sukhotai at the end of the 13th century. Before this we have little but the Siamese chronicles to trust to, and they, as many scholars have shewn, are quite unreliable. It is, I conclude, somewhat hazardous to speak, as does the author of the article in *Rupam*, of "the most flourishing period of the national Siamese Art, viz., the art of the empire of Sukothai-Savankalok (750-1100)."

No. 3 also contains an interesting letter from Mr. Duroiselle to the Editor with reference to the article in **No. 2**:

No. 7 contains a useful article by Ananda Coomaraswamy "Notes on the Javanese Theatre", with copious illustrations.

1. For a discussion of this question, see Pelliot "Deux Itinéraires," B. E. F. E. O. Tom 4, pp. 244, and following.

2. See Aymonier, *Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge* (Strasbourg, 1918), p. 13.

3. See his *Inventaire Descriptif* Vol. II, Introduction p. xiii, and B. E. F. E. O. Tom 9, 1909, pp. 351-368. A glance at his Atlas enables one to see clearly the extent and stragglings of Khmer influence.

In No. 10, pp. 42-56, there is an important article by Gurudas Sarkar—"Notes on the history of Shikhara Temples." The origin of the *sikhara*, so common among the Vaishnava temples of North India, has provoked endless controversy. It is indeed surprising to find the *sikhara* surmounting all the Buddhist temples of Pagan, though, to be sure, a little *stupa* has taken the place of the *amalaka* fruit as the finial; it is even more surprising to find it at Hmawza on the Bèbè Pagoda, which contains a Pyu inscription. Unfortunately the Bèbè is not dated and the inscription as yet is not translated, and though the script is said to be similar to that of the Pyu face of the Myazedi¹ we can scarcely date it later than Anoratha (1044-1077 A. D.) who sacked Prome, and as it seems to be one of the prototypes of Pagan architecture, it may well be placed a century or two earlier. In India (if we ignore the question of the original shape of the Bodh-Gaya temple) the developed *sikhara* first appears in the Gupta period. "It is however between the 11th and 14th centuries," says Mr. Sarkar "that the *shikhara* reached its acme of development and it was during this period that the form seems to have been carried beyond the confines of India. The temple in Lopburi in Siam, depicted in Döhring's "Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam," Vol. II (Tafel 5), is undoubtedly a temple of pure *shikhara* type. Of the two classes of old spire pagodas extant in Burma, one is of regular curvilinear form having a close affinity to the curvilinear Indo-Aryan type (Fig. 21, Ananda Temple, Pagan)... Mr. Charles Duroiselle presumes the existence of an intercourse between a certain Burmese Tantric Buddhist sect and the Vajrayanist and the Sahajiyās of Nepal (Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, 1915-16, p. 83). The Sahajiyā element was also strong in mediaeval Orissa, and it is not improbable that the curvilinear *shikhara* form found its way to Burma *via* Orissa, if not from Northern India. The Bèbè pagoda in Prome District bears a considerable resemblance in general characteristics to the old stone Shiva temple at Bajaura in Kulu Valley, Punjab. The *shikhara* of the former, however, is not characterised by pilasters and panels at the sides and the *amalaka* which is so prominent in the Punjab temple is missing in the Burmese specimen."

The above notes, I hope, will serve to shew how valuable *Rupam* may be to readers in Burma as well as to all lovers of art; and if we have had occasionally to question one or two statements with reference to Burma, it is with full recognition of the taste and scholarship of Mr. Gangoly and his contributors. It is therefore with sincere regret that we notice (in No. 9, p. 37) the Editor saying:—"Our Masters of Art... not to speak of lesser educated luminaries, display a lamentable ignorance of the alphabet of Arts for which there is no parallel in any civilised country. There is still a widespread boycott among Indians of the knowledge of Indian Art... Such support as *Rupam* has been able to secure has come from friends outside the boundaries of India."

G. H. L.

1. See "Amended list of Ancient Monuments in Burma" p. 20,

The Buddhist Review (Jan.-Feb. 1922).

The latest number of the *Buddhist Review* is a slight publication of 32 pages, and contains a brief but informative article on the personality of the Buddha by "Sunyananda," a *nom de guerre* which conceals the identity of a Franco-Belgian lady who has had an opportunity of learning Tibetan and is making good use of her acquisition in delving into the real meaning of the Buddhism of Tibet through all the layers of somewhat forbidding material that encumber it. The gist of her present article is to the effect that in Mahayana, "Buddha" is a name for a state rather than a designation for a person, so that the particular bearer of such a title at any period, Gotama or any one else, is of merely subsidiary importance, more especially since the achievement itself involves the disappearance of the personality of the achiever.

Most "Mahayana" doctrines upon examination seem only a further elaboration of "Hinayana" ideas; and something very similar to this one is taught in Burma. If one asks the teachers of a certain school: "Is the Buddha in Nibbana?" the answer given is: "It is not right to say so." And if one asks: "Is the Buddha not in Nibbana?" again the answer comes that it is not right to say so. And on asking for an explanation of these cryptic answers, one is told: "Buddha is a name, an appellation, a term, a concept of the *lokiya* (this world) mind, and has no kind of application one way or another where what is *lokuttara* (beyond the world) is concerned.

Another article, "A Scientific Analogy" by "Ananda M." draws a parallel between the physical process of the disintegration of an atom of radium and the psychical process of de-individualisation, or un-selfing—to use James Hinton's word,—the culminating point of which Buddhists call Nibbana. It is interestingly written and inevitably suggests to the reader's mind that further illuminating parallels may be found between physical and psychical processes.

Captain Ellam continues his exposition of Buddhism in modern terms with an article on that well-worn but never outworn theme, its ethics, which is to be continued, though when is unknown; for the magazine, we hear, is once more suspended for lack of support. It seems strange that the large number of English-reading Buddhists which there must be throughout the world, cannot maintain one magazine in the English language for the setting forth of their faith, when in another European language no less than three Buddhist magazines are appearing regularly in addition to a fourth which appears at irregular intervals, although their readers are practically confined to the limits of the country in which they appear. Lack of mental adventurousness rather than lack of money is probably the real cause of the phenomenon.

**Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
No. 85, March 1922.**

On p. 210 is a short article, with an illustration, on a "Hindu Image from Sarawak" by J.C. Moulton. To the student of Indian influences in the Far East, this is bound to be of interest. Borneo is generally regarded as the eastern limit of that influence. Brahmanic remains are not uncommon, notably the three Sanskrit inscriptions, edited with rubbings by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his important article "The Yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman" (Bijdragen tot de Taal,—Land—en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië Vol. 74, 1918). Dr. Vogel agrees with Kern in attributing, on palaeographic grounds, these inscriptions to circa 400 A.D. These and other evidences of Indian influence, mostly Shivaite, have all, so far as I am aware, been discovered in Koetei, on the east or south-east of Borneo. Now we have evidence of it also in the north-west.

Beyond Borneo to the east there is little evidence of early Indian penetration. In the Philippines, I have heard (but not verified) there is an Indian element in the early script; and in North Celebes a bronze inscription not yet deciphered, has been found, the script of which is believed by Dr. Krom to be partly Kawi. I have seen a letter from Mr. Groothuis, a Dutch missionary, which states that on Loeang island, east of Timor, are shown footprints of those who came from heaven (? Buddhist); that the *figus religiosa* is revered on the island of Kisar; their cremation ceremonies, too, are said to be similar to those in Buddhist Bali. But though these facts are interesting, they can hardly be regarded as proofs of Indian penetration; of that, Borneo must be regarded, for the present, as the eastern limit.

To return to the Sarawak image. It is a Ganesha found at Limbang in the north; and Dr. Krom suggests that it is "of more direct Hindu origin and therefore probably older (6th or 7th century) than those discovered in south-east Borneo." Sir John Marshall, however, points out that the posture of this Ganesha, with the soles of his feet meeting in front, "is un-Indian and appears to indicate a period of time when the Javanese image-makers had outlived the trammels of Indian tradition". Referring to two Javanese Ganeshas in the Indian Museum, he says that these are assignable to the thirteenth century A.D., the age of Brahmanic temples of Brambanan¹ and Singasari. The Borneo image, which in its posture seems to disclose Javanese influence, is probably to be assigned to about the same epoch but may be somewhat earlier. The earliest Brahmanic inscriptions found in Borneo . . . , are assigned to the fifth century A.D. This image of Ganesha shows that Brahmanic culture flourished in Borneo for a long period".

1. This seems to be a slip for Panataran, the Shiva temple in East Java which Dr. Krom dates in the first half of the 14th century. The Brambanan temples in central Java are mostly Buddhist and date from 700-950 A.D. (see Dr. Krom, *Inleid ing tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* Vol. I chs. XII & XIII, Vol. II p. 157.)

Dr. Juynboll, in his excellent *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums* (Leiden), Band v. p. 21, says that the Javanese Ganesha is always represented with an elephant's head, almost always seated with the soles of his feet together, and that, of his four hands, the back right hand holds the rosary, the back left hand the elephant-hook or the axe, the front right hand a fragment of elephant's tooth, the front left hand a bowl of food from which he is feeding himself with his trunk. An analysis of the 16 specimens in this museum (of which 22 are in stone, 3 in bronze, and 1 modern one in wood) shows :—

- (i) 1 standing figure with 4 arms (Dr. Juynboll points out that this posture is very rare).
- (ii) 23 seated figures with 4 arms.
- (iii) 2 seated figures with 2 arms of which one is modern, and the other, numbered 1239/1, is peculiar and Polynesian in style¹
- (iv) Of the seated figures, 20 have the soles of their feet touching; 4 nearly touching; and 2 have the right knee drawn up (as in one class of Indian Ganeshas mentioned by Sir John Marshall).
- (v) The back right hand in 13 cases holds the rosary, in 4 cases the axe.
- (vi) The back left hand in 10 cases holds the axe, in 6 cases the rosary, in 2 cases the elephant-hook.

The Sarawak Ganesha seems to hold an axe in his back right hand, and a rosary in his left; and this would accord with a considerable minority of the Javanese images. But Dr. Krom speaks with undeniable authority on Javanese iconography. Possibly the headdress of this Ganesha seems to him un-Javanese; for in other respects it is quite normal. If so, we have perhaps interesting evidence of local Borneo influence in an art imported, *via* Java, from India.

Of Java's early contact with Borneo we may be fairly certain from Fa Hien's time (413 A.D.) onwards and probably much earlier. Our knowledge of Borneo in these early centuries is very fragmentary, and comes almost entirely from Chinese sources.² From the earliest times it was a point of junction for Chinese and Indian trade and settlement. In "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo" by Charles Hose and Wm. McDougall (1912 Macmillans) it is stated (ch. II) that "Hindu ornaments have been found at Santubong together with Chinese coins of great antiquity". The names of many offices of state in Bruni are derived from Sanskrit, and the people of Sarawak have only lately ceased to speak of "the days of the Hindus". In the 13th and 14th centuries the Hindu influence of the East Java kingdom of Majapahit on Bruni was very strong, though it alternated with Mohammedan influence from Malacca. This is the time

1. No. 2804, classed as having 2 arms in the catalogue, seems to me to have four, the back left holding an axe, the back right (?) a rosary.

2. See Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago pp. 101—115. It is now in the Society's Library.

when the Kayans (said to have affinities with Karens!) are supposed to have come to Borneo, as transported convicts from Java (See the curious tale in Hose and McDougall). A short period of independence followed. "Then Angka Wijaya extended the power of Majapahit over Palembang, Timor, Ternate, Luzon and the coasts of Borneo. Over Banjarmasin he set his natural son. In 1368 Javanese soldiers drove from Bruni the Sulu marauders who had sacked the town. A few years later the ungrateful king transferred his allegiance to China, and not long afterwards with calculating humility, paid tribute to Mansur Shah who had succeeded to the throne of Malacca in 1374 A.D. During the first quarter of the next century the Ming dynasty of China, largely owing to the remarkable missions of Cheng Ho, developed their influence in Borneo, in the Archipelago, and even as far as Africa. At the request of Hiawang, king of Bruni, they stopped the tribute paid by Bruni to Java; about this time probably large Chinese settlements arose in N. and S.W. Borneo. "Hindu-Javan influence also was not confined to the court of Bruni, for in many parts of the southern half of Borneo traces of it survive in the custom of burning the dead, in low relief carvings of bulls on stone, and in various gold ornaments of Hindu character."

G. H. L.

The Indian Antiquary, Vol. LI, January—June 1922.

This is a very interesting series of parts. Some of the papers are continued either in consecutive or later parts; thus there are threads of continuity running throughout.

I notice very brief but appreciative reviews of *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2. For the rest there is almost nothing bearing on Burma or the regions adjacent to it on the east. The main contents of these six parts are (1) accounts of episodes and periods in Indian History, (2) discussions of poems and other compositions ascribed to certain Hindu authors and (3) a matter of very immediate interest—specimens of Nepali poems or songs composed by Gurkhas who took part in the Great War, in which they describe their exploits on the battle fields of Palestine. About them there are some touches almost Homeric.

There are as well various other topics treated, *e. g.*, I notice an important note on the double or swelling Persian dome by Mr. K. G. C. Cresswell controverting certain doctrines of Mr. Havell put forth by him in his "Handbook of Indian Art".

When one looks at the names of the chief contributors to the *Indian Antiquary*—Sir Richard Temple, Sir E. Denison Ross, Sir George Grierson and others almost equally eminent, one realises the difficulty which Burma, with her paucity of scholars, has in attempting to produce anything in the way of a magazine on the same level of scholarship.

Here, however, is one querulous criticism—the cover of the January number is sewn on upside down!

I forgot to notice a paper on the South Andamanese language and people. In two excellent photographs there is not much that is at all familiar except a bamboo structure. The people show no Mongolian features.

I had forgotten also something to delight the literary—a review of the English poems of Ameer Ribani, *viz.*, *A Chant of Mystics and other Poems*.

G. R. T. R.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LI. July—December 1921.

There is nothing about Burma in this volume but ever so much of great interest to anthropologists generally. I have looked through the papers on (1) The Archer's Bow in the Homeric Poems (H. A. Balfour), (2) Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor (the late F. W. Hasluck) and (3) the Description of a human cranium, dredged from the bed of the River Trent (Dr. R. T. Gladstone). I should read the whole of the papers—which range as far away as Papua and Australia—if I had time.

G. R. T. R.

**Journal of The East India Association, New Series, Vol. XIII
Numbers for January and April 1922.**

Coming from a study of sternly scientific magazines like the *Indian Antiquary* and the other Journal reviewed by me in this number, to a perusal of the Journal of the East India Association is like changing from one climate to another; in particular it is like coming to the tropics. The Journal of the East India Association admits papers on social subjects and the consequence—in the attached discussions at any rate—is plenty of "hot air." I refer particularly to the discussions on "The English Boy in India," and "The Liquor question in India." Still the papers on the above are interesting, and there are others dealing with subjects in which scientific precision is more readily obtainable, *e. g.*, Hydro-Electric Power in India, Castes and Customs in Malabar, and the Leper Problem in India.

G. R. T. R.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of the first Meeting of the Committee held at University
College on 17th February 1922.*

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E.

J. J. Nolan, Esq.

U May Oung.

U Po Sein.

U Tun Pe.

S. G. Grantham, Esq.

U Tha Tun Aung.

Maung Ba Kya.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., *Hony. Secy.*

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 20th January were confirmed.
2. Under Rule 19 the following were elected to the Sub-Committee: J. S. Furnivall, Esq., U May Oung, and U Po Byu.

Last year's Text Publication Sub-Committee was re-elected.

3. It was decided that 46 members whose subscriptions are in arrears and who have not replied to reminders should be deemed to have resigned and their names struck off the roll of members.

4. It was decided that the estimate of the Clarendon Press for the publication of the 1st vol. of the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin by Maung Tin and Mr. Luce should be accepted, and orders given to commence printing, subject to the condition that the Clarendon Press should agree to accept a smaller commission than they propose upon copies sold by them.

The book to be marked "issued by the Text Publication Fund" and a note to be included in the prefatory matter stating that Maung Tin and Mr. Luce (or Maung Tin alone) are solely responsible for the accuracy of the translation. The Society to take 500 copies in wrappers and further copies, if required, which would be sold to members at Rs. 5 each. The price of bound copies sold by the Clarendon Press to be 10 shillings.

- 5 (a) The Honorary Secretary was empowered to purchase Stevens' English Peguan Vocabulary and the Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary. He was instructed to make enquiries regarding Halliday's "The Talaings", and the publications of the Paklat Press, Siam.

(b) It was decided to accept with gratitude the offer of certain MSS. made by Mr. Jackson, Lecturer in English Forestry, Cambridge.

(c) Proposals to ask Mr. Blagden and Maung Tin to report on Burmese and Talaing MSS. were referred to the Text Publication Sub-Committee.

(d) It was recorded that publicity is being given through the assistance of the Director of Publicity to the Pali Text Society's desire to obtain a copy of the Theri Abhidanattakatha.

(e) It was decided that it was not necessary at present to make representations regarding the Bernard Free Library.

RANGOON :

The 20th February 1922.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECENTLY ADDED TO THE LIBRARY.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1920-21

Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, for 1920-21

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921.

Handbook of the Lisu (Yawyin) Language, by Rev. J. O. Fraser.	} Presented by the Local Government.
Anthology of Burmese Literature, Edited by Maung Kyaw Dun, K.S.M. (2 copies)	

Journal Asiatique, Onzième Série, Tom XIX, No. 1.—Jan.-March 1922.
Indian Antiquary, July 1922.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol II, Part III.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XVII, 1921, Nos. 2 & 3.

Rupam, No. 10, April 1922.

Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annam, par H. Parmentier. (2 Vols. of text, two portfolios of plates.)

Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments de Cambodge, par E. Lunet de Lajonquière. (3 Vols. and Atlas)

- Le Cambodge, par Etienne Aymonier. (3 Vols.)
- Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks, par Gabriel Ferrand. (2 Vols.)
- Le Népal, par Sylvain Lévi. (3 Vols.)
- Histoire Générale de la Chine, par Henri Cordier. (4 Vols.)
- Nan-Tchao Ye-Che—Histoire particulière de Nan-Tchao, Traduction d'une Histoire de l'ancien Yunnan, par C. Sainson.
- Histoire de Cambodge, par Adhémar Leclère.
- Mémoire composé à l'époque de la Grande Dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents . . . par I Tsing; en Français par Ed. Chavannes.
- Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs à l' Extrême-Orient, par George Coedès.
- Grammaire de la langue Khmère (Cambodgien), par George Maspero.
- Archéologie du Sud de l' Inde, par G. Jouveau-Dubreuil. (2 Vols.)
- Histoire Ancienne du Deccan, par G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.
- Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, par A. Foucher.
- Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources, by W. P. Groeneveldt.
- Supplementary Jottings to the "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources", by W.P. Groeneveldt.
- Contribution à l'étude de la langue Lolo, par Paul Boell.
- Inleiding tot de hindoe-javaansche kunst, door Dr. N. J. Krom. (2 Vols.)
- La Légende Sacrée du Népal, Peinture Népalaise de la Collection Hodgson.

TO MEMBERS.

**"Memorandum on the Hluttaw Records" by U Tin,
K.S.M., A.T.M.**

A very few copies of the above memorandum in English and Burmese are, through the kindness of the Local Government, available for distribution to members of the Society. Any member who desires to obtain a copy is requested to apply to the Honorary Secretary without delay, stating whether he wishes a copy in English or in Burmese.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

THE MONS IN SIAM.

BY R. HALLIDAY.

The Mons of Siam are the Talaings of Burma, that is they are the same people as those we know as Talaings in this country¹. For the origin of the Mons in Siam we have to look back to the time two or three centuries ago when the Talaing power in Lower Burma was waning, to the time when the struggles between the kings of Pegu and Ayuthia were going on, and to the time when the Talaings were beginning to feel the yoke of their Burmese conquerors. I believe the first emigrations of the Talaings in any number took place in the days when Phra Naret (Byanarit of Phayre's History of Burma) of Siam came over and retaliated on Pegu after the Taungu kings Tabin Shwethi, Bureng Naung, and Nanda Bureng of this country had made serious incursions into the neighbouring land of Siam. Many Talaings are said to have accompanied Phra Naret on his return to Ayuthia after his successful raid on Pegu. Amongst the various colonies of Mons in Siam there are some who trace back the coming of their ancestors to the land of their adoption to that time. There are some who are still known to their compatriots over there as the old Mons, being of the earlier immigrants to the country, though the term sometimes also describes these who have given way more completely to the influence of the Siamese language and customs.

I found people over there sometimes speaking of the Mons as if they were a people who had been taken prisoners in war and were subjected to a kind of slavery. This is far from being the case. As I have shown in a paper read to the Siam Society some years ago², the great bulk of Mons sought refuge in Siam of their own free will, and I think facts will bear me out in saying that the Siamese Government has treated them very well. They too have identified themselves with the interests of their adopted country. So much was this the case that when it was proposed to set up a Talaing kingdom in Pegu at the time of the first Anglo-Burmese war, Captain Burney³ gave it as his opinion that the Mons were more zealous to support Siam than to recover Pegu⁴.

Some of Captain Burney's references are instructive on our subject. He says in one of his letters, "From what Pya Phi Phut communicated to me this day, as well as what I gathered from other sources, I have reason to believe, that the court of Siam has not received, with so much satisfaction as was expected, the intelligence of (sic) the British Government has resolved upon establishing the old kingdom of Pegu. The best

¹ I should much prefer to use the name Mon exclusively in speaking of this people, but I find it attended with difficulty in this country, and have had to return to the use of the old familiar "Talaing". In this paper I use the two names as they refer to Siam or to Burma respectively.

² The Immigrations of the Mons, Siam Society's Journal, 1913, Vol. X, Part 3.

³ A British envoy sent to Siam to treat with the Siamese and get them to preserve their neutrality.

⁴ The commander of the Siamese troops sent to watch the border on one of the routes from Martaban was a Mon.

troops and artisans and in fact the most useful subjects belonging to Siam are either emigrants from Pegu or descendants of those who formerly fled from Burmese usurpation; and any probability of these men quitting Siam, is considered as one of the most severe blows, which could be inflicted against the prosperity of this kingdom and particularly against the comfort of the king and court." Again, "These people compose some of the most useful subjects and artisans in Siam, and many of them are employed by the court in situations of great trust and confidence."

I find Talaings in the Amherst District speaking of the Mons of Siam as having been driven over in the sense that cattle are driven. When the Burmese followed them at all, however, it was to bring them back or to prevent them from ever going further. Numbers of them, both monks and people, perished at the hands of the Burmese.

LOCATION OF THE MONS.

The Mons are found very widely distributed over Central Siam, and even further afield they are to be found in distinguishable numbers. The bulk of them are to be found on the Menam Chao Phaya and at no great distance from the capital. There is the well known settlement at Paklat south of the city and toward the mouth of the river. From there they have branched out both east and west along the canals which join river to river. It is a circumstance worthy of note that in the original settlements they retain the use of their own language and traditions much better apparently than when they break away to form new settlements. On a visit to the Mons settled to the east of Paklat we found them giving up the use of their own language altogether in some cases, even when dwelling together in their own communities. The more isolated their communities are from Siamese and others they keep up their language and customs the better. ⁵

Up river again is the well known settlement at Pakret where coarse pottery is made. From that point up there are Mon villages all along both banks and extending into the Ayuthia Division. Just below Ayuthia town there is one village standing all by itself. Going up stream there is one solitary village before Lophburi is reached, and just above that town there is one large settlement. Further north at Uthai-thani in the territories of the old Sukhothai and Sawankalok northern kingdoms there is a settlement comprising three or four villages. Further north again I am told there is a Mon village at Lampun. Here several Mon inscriptions have been found. They are in practically the same character as those of Pagan and the form of the words is still in the earlier stage of the language. So that in the absence of any clear date we place them back about the twelfth century. These inscriptions record

⁵ According to a Siamese biography of the first four kings of the present dynasty, on one occasion the Mons were met on the border by order of the king, and on arrival in Langsok they were sent to Pathom, Nonthaburi, and Paklat, the districts north and south of the city.

the pious deeds of a prince of that time, such as building pagodas and monasteries and endowing them with lands, cattle, and people to work them: One wonders whether the Mons at Lampun are the descendants of settlers from Pegu in those early days.⁶

Again there is a small settlement of Mons in Korat neighbourhood to the north east, and still another away north near Chiengmai (the Zimme of the Burmese). This latter group may represent settlers who have gone over in the ordinary way of business or in the search of new lands to cultivate. I have no personal knowledge of the Chiengmai, Lampun and Korat groups, though from the testimony of both Mon and European friends I know that they are there.

Coming back to Central Siam, there is a considerable settlement of Mons on the western river, the Meklong, the location being on one of the routes followed by the fugitives in seeking refuge in Siam and by the invading armies of Pegu and Ava. This with Paklat south of Bangkok and Pathom to the north of the city were locations assigned to the immigrants on their arrival, by the Siamese Government. At Pathom there is a village with its monastery called Terem, that is, Granary, a name due it is said, to the fact that grain was stored there for the use of the refugees. It is worthy of note in this connection that Mon influence was so dominant in the Meklong valley that Karen youths used to be brought down to the Mon monasteries to be ordained as Buddhist monks by the Mon upajjhavas. Only a year or two ago I saw a party that had come down with four or five young men and the initiatory ceremony was performed in two different Mon monasteries. In former days the Mons traded amongst the up river Karens, and Mon Myosas were in charge of the taxes and administration.

THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN THE MON VILLAGES.

Usually the Mons live in their own villages, having their own monasteries in which the monks both use and teach their own language, with, in addition very generally now, the Siamese language. At Uthai-thani I found an exception. There Siamese was the language used in the monasteries and only the older men could read Mon, though Mon was the ordinary language of the homes. The first man we met and conversed with was a Siamese who spoke Mon so well that it was not until he told us himself in the course of conversation that we even suspected that he was not Mon. It was a reference to Burma that brought it out. According to Siamese records this was one of the places where the refugees were met by order of the Siamese Government and I was making enquiry about the border crossing. We found that he was not interested in Burma and on asking the reason it turned out that he was Siamese, but had married a Mon woman and lived amongst the Mons. Indifference to the question of Burma and the return thereto, and to the

⁶ I deciphered one or two of these records at the request of Prof. Coedès, Chief Librarian of the National Library in Bangkok. So far we have been unable to identify the prince, but it is known that a ruler of Harabhuajai or Lampun of former times had a Mon queen.

house spirit marks the alien in these village communities. I have seen this again and again. Mons are usually intensely interested in Burma.

These people it will be seen live their own separate life in their own communities, growing their crops and holding their land on a system of land tenure similar to that of this country, that is they pay a tax to the Government according to the crop cultivated and the productivity of the ground. For the Mons there as their compatriots are an agricultural people. On the Menam Chao Phaya in the districts of Pathom and Nontaburi there are brick-fields and potteries where bricks for house building and coarse pottery are made. A great many too engage in trade, carrying these and other products all over the country by boat along the waterways. Their trading boats line the water front of many of the riverside villages. Agriculture is, however, the predominant occupation. I know of only one village where agriculture was at one time wholly given up and the people applied themselves to trading in boats mostly, but some are again looking to the land as their natural sphere. Some too go into Government service, there being openings of all kinds in the general administration, and in the railway and other services. Some who have made good during their naval or military training remain in these professions.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Mons over there are good subjects of the King of Siam as the Talaings here are loyal to the British Government, there is still a strong national or racial feeling amongst them. This country is to them Mon land. It is called in the vernacular *Dung Mon*, though the Siamese always style it *Muang Bama*, Burma Land. Numbers of them come over every year, most of them, however going back again. The pagoda here at Rangoon is an object of great veneration to them and is the chief cause of their visits to this country. Many of these simple villagers look upon one who has visited the Shwe Dagon as having had a great privilege. We had their interest at once in going amongst them when they knew that we had been in Burma and could speak of our visits to the great shrine. I had the fortune to visit Shwe Dagon (*Kyait Lekung* of the Talaings) before the present restrictions were imposed. Being acquainted with the Mon story of the founding of the shrine I can speak sympathetically of it apart from that.

The other matter on which there is great emphasis usually, and with which an incomer always disclaims any connection, is the cult of the house spirit. I propose to give some account of this before I am done, but would here give one or two instances to show how the matter sometimes crops up. At the Mon settlement in the neighbourhood of Lophburi (Lewü it is called by the Mons, the Louvo of old French writers), I met an elderly man apparently of Mon race living with a Mon wife and bringing up his family as Mons. He told me, however, that his grandfather was a Brahman and that therefore, he had no connection with the house spirit and had no obligation to follow the tradition with regard to it. This connection follows only the male line, and a woman becomes alienated on her marriage. In another case I was visiting a house in a Mon village on the Meklong. I noticed that contrary to the usual custom there the

ridge pole of the house lay north and south instead of east and west, and on calling the householder's attention to it he told me that his father was Siamese and he had therefore no connection with the house spirit.

In the considerable settlement of Mons on the Meklong in the Amphus or townships of Banpong and Potaram, although the racial language is more strictly used and the traditions more rigidly kept than almost anywhere else in Siam, the women seem more readily to yield to the Siamese custom of cutting the hair or in the matter of dress or in both. Even in the matter of language I was surprised to hear a young Mon from the Menam Chao Phaya making comments on their use of certain Siamese expressions where apparently the Mon terms were used in his own village. This use of Siamese names for common things and ideas, however, varies in different different localities, just as in Burma the use of Burmese words varies.

When Mons in Siam are asked about their origin they never hesitate to say that their fathers came over from Burma. When asked, however, if they remember anyone who was among those who came over it is not so usual to get a reply in the affirmative. And yet it is only over a hundred years since the last big inflow went over. I met an old woman at Uthaithani who would be about thirty years old at that time. She was said to be one hundred and thirty years old, and she looked it. She was born the year her father returned from the war in the eastern Lao country, after the fall of Wicang Chan. According to a Mon record, the Emerald Buddha together with the queen consort was brought to Bangkok in 1779. Allowing time for demobilisation and for the establishment of the father in family life again, it would not be so far from the one hundred and thirty years. One old woman of a hundred years of age who had gone over from this country as a girl of nine, died up river from Bangkok a year or two before we went, over a dozen years ago. We had the information from her daughter who was then living. Another old dame of nearly ninety told us of her father coming as a young man. Some very old men, however, can give no such particulars of their parents' movements. These must belong to the earlier migrations of Mons.

The feeling about a general return to Burma must have been very strong at times. We were often asked even before the great war what we thought of the prospects of a return to Burma, and the resultant talk about the claims of smaller nations helped to accentuate the feeling in some cases. But this talk of a return to Burma must have been very common amongst a certain class of Mons for a long time. It is said to be foretold in some of their forecasts of history, wherein it is told how on certain signs appearing certain things will happen. These, like the readings of prophesy generally, may be made to follow the reader's special inclination. One old man used to quote passages from his books in which he saw the return quite imminent, but he died, poor old man; before a happy ending to his life in the land of his forefathers could be realised. It is told how at one time people would not plant anything

that did not yield an immediate return. It was expected that at any time they might be called upon to return to the land of their race, and many refused to plant trees or to build their houses of any durable material.

THE HOUSE SPIRIT.

There are one or two things which distinguish the Mons from their neighbours. On some of these I propose to speak so as to show how well the Mons of Siam have kept the traditions of their fathers and have lived their separate lives among alien peoples. There is nothing which so much, perhaps, distinguishes the Mons from their neighbours as the tradition of the Kalok Hei or House Spirit, to which I have already referred.

Outward and visible signs of the Kalok Hei are the little spirit houses one sees in Talaing villages, the kalok basket which one may see hanging on the south-east corner post of a house of the Mon pattern, provided one can do so without attracting undue attention, on the rare occasions one has the opportunity to enter the inner house, and the dance which may be seen frequently in a Mon village in front of the house concerned. The Hei kalok is to house the spirit or ka'ok of the family. The term "ka'ok" is applied not only to the spirit whose good will the family must seek or stand the untoward consequences, but also to the family or clan. Thus you will hear it said sometimes that a person is of the same kalok as some one you already know, just in the same way as a man might be introduced to your notice as a relative of a known friend. At the kalok dance which has been described in the *Journal*⁷, all persons, men, women and children who pertain to the kalok, that is the family or clan concerned, must appear and be ceremonially bathed and distinguished. I fancy that this dance is even more strictly observed amongst the Mons of Siam than it is amongst their kinsfolk in Burma. The object of the dance is apparently to propitiate the demon who has shown displeasure by sickness or other distress in the family. Often it is the result of a promise made at such a time of stress. The special garments used in the dance are old garments brought by their forbears from Burma and kept for the occasion.

The kalok as has already been intimated follows in the male line only. When a woman marries she enters her husband's kalok, if he has one. There is a special ceremony by which the severance is effected to the satisfaction of the kalok. I have described this rite in "*The Talaings*", and it is probably the rite referred to in the *Burma Census Report* for 1911⁸. But though the transaction cuts her off in a way from her own people she is not evidently subject to the same exclusion as an entire stranger. The restrictions as to pregnant women being disallowed the free run of the house do not apply to her apparently.

⁷ *The Kalok Dance of the Talaings*, J. B. R. S. 1914, Vol. IV, Part II.

⁸ *The Talaings*, Rangoon 1917, page 93.

Burma Census Report, 1911, Part I page 149, section 132 headed "Totemism."

In the *kalok* basket are kept the *kalok* garments and ornaments, and this is placed in the house of the person taking the place of head of the family. When anything happens that causes the people to think that the house spirit is offended, the *Tong* or spirit medium is consulted and the parties concerned must resort to the house where the *kalok* requisites are kept. Also when it is desired to make any change, as when it is felt inconvenient to resort to the house which is the head of the clan or family and there is a desire to form a new branch, a reference has to be made to the original headquarters. One day in crossing the Meklong on the ferry boat at Nakon Choom I saw a woman with a tray on which were placed some garments, ornaments and eatables. On looking round I found that the *Tong* was of the company, and on enquiry learned that the party was crossing to the original head of the house to carry out some arrangement regarding the *kalok*.

Talking with an old man on one occasion and seeing a number of young people around, I said to him, "I suppose these are all grandchildren?" Both he and his wife at once replied. "All grandchildren, nephews and nieces," meaning that they were all related to them in some way. "Then you will all be of one *kalok*", I said. "Yes," he replied. "What is the name of your *kalok*?" I next asked. I put this question because the *kaloks* have all names usually from place names in Burma, "*Kalok Bama*", that is, Burmese *Kalok*, he replied. "What about the *kalok* basket and requisities?" I further enquired. "There are none here", he said at once, "People can live and die and everything here". This meant that the *kalok* imposed no restrictions, and they could entertain whomsoever they wished in whatever circumstances. "Have you no dance?" I asked. "Yes", he said, "once a year when hundreds of everything are provided". It would seem to have been a case where a Burmese progenitor had relieved them from the *kalok* obligations, though they still kept up Mon practices. The old man seemed quite happy that there was no *kalok hei* with power over him.

THE PEO CU.

Another matter in which the Mons of Siam show their adherence to the beliefs and practices of their forefathers is the *Peo Cu* or guardian spirit of the village. I have seen the annual festival in connection therewith at two different villages situated widely apart. At one place we happened to be in the neighbourhood on two consecutive annual occasions. We missed part of the ceremonial the first time through only hearing of it whilst it was in progress. On the next occasion we prepared for it. The little spirit house at the back of the village had been put in repair the day before, and in the early afternoon we heard that people were getting their offerings ready. These consisted of a plate or bowl from each house containing a small portion of sticky rice, some cake, a few plantains, some tapers, and in some cases, a little cup of water. In each vessel was stuck a piece of split bamboo bent over as many times as there were inmates in the house, and having a piece of cotton on the curl thus formed. This was to give intimation of the number of persons for whom the good offices of the spirit were solicited.

Soon we were told that these offerings were being carried out to the little shrine on the edge of the rice fields. They were taken there by women and girls, and two old dames arranged them before the shrine. One of these was the *tong* or medium, and she poured out water around the various offerings, repeating certain formulas the while. During this time the people were waiting about sitting in groups. Usually there are youths beating drums, but on this occasion the drums were displaced by a gramophone.

It was now the time when dancing usually begins, women specially susceptible to the demoniac influence taking part. I myself questioned the probability of anything of the kind taking place in the absence of the drums, but I was assured that the gramophone would discourse suitable music. The *tong*, however, finally announced that the demon refused to take part because there were no Burmese drums, and a movement was at once made to retire from the field. Owners of dishes went to claim their own and the children secured the eatables they desired.

On the former occasion there were drums and two women came swooping in with arms extended and danced away for some time. One young woman sat on her haunches her limbs shaking, and was pronounced to be under the demon influence. She was not, however, considered a very good case, as when people asked questions of her she could give no satisfactory answers. Still the demon has to be exorcised and this was done by an old dame by means of passes with two swords, and the pouring of water on the ground as she repeated certain formulas.

At the other place where I saw the ritual carried out, there was a regular orchestra with drums, dulcimer, gong, patwain, bamboo clappers, clarion, and violin. There were two *tongs*, a man and a woman, and the offerings were more elaborate, bottles of spirits being included. I think there was Chinese influence at work there.

THE HOUSES OF THE MONS.

Mr. W. A. Graham in his book on Siam speaking of the Mons has mentioned a circumstance with regard to their houses which marks them as differing from their neighbours. It also shows them as a people following the traditions of their fathers. He says, "Their houses differ slightly in construction from those of the Siamese, and have their gable ends pointing east and west, a matter about which the Siamese is not particular". In the Mon villages in Siam it is quite noticeable that on the rivers flowing from north to south in a general way, the houses appear with their gable ends to the stream whereas on the lateral canals connecting the rivers they stand the other way, that is with their sides, front or back, along the stream. Where tradition is strictly followed the ridge pole should lie east and west, and the front of the house should look up river, that is, to the north. Except in Burmanised towns and villages, this rule holds good in this country too. I have been rather surprised to find in Talaing villages on the Amherst road in the neighbourhood of Moulmein that the tradition is strictly carried out.

The gable ends point to the road eastward, and to the river on the other side westward. Houses on the north side of the lane have their backs to it, and one has to go round the end of the house to find the entrance. Another peculiarity is the form of the steps and this too is seen on both sides of the border. These are almost invariably five in number, and the sides of the stair or ladder which is usually detachable are always uneven, the one side being longer than the other. In most cases the difference is quite pronounced, though in rare cases it might be missed without minute observation. Even in the case of a well-made stair the sides will sometimes show a difference. The tradition in this matter of house formation is so strong that even in cases where people have apparently broken with tradition and are indifferent to consequences they still follow the established rule. These are the more obvious differences one observes in the Mon or Talaing form of house, though there are many other features in house construction that the tradition enforces. The book *Lokasiddhi* is used as a hand book for guidance in that and many other matters of common practice. I have, however, said enough to show how the Mons in Siam where living in their own communities maintain the traditions of their forefathers.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE MONS TO THEIR RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

A word may be allowable here on the attitude of the Mons to their religion. On the whole they do not seem to differ so much from their neighbours, and yet I have sometimes been impressed with their special earnestness in attending to their religious duties. I have a definite case before me now though the comparison is with the Siamese only.

I took the trouble at one time to watch the Buddhist ordination service. I went right into the ordination hall on one occasion. Being on friendly terms with the monks and especially with the upajjhaya, I was given a good place and was allowed to look on the palm-leaf copy of the service with the monk who watched the text to make sure that the service was word perfect. There came a point where only ordained monks were allowed to be present with those who were being initiated, and I had to leave with the others. On the next opportunity I watched things from the outside. On that occasion there were two candidates, one Mon and the other Siamese. Each had his following of parents, relatives, and friends. The Mon youth was taken round the building three times making the daksina or turning to the right by way of reverence. The father carried the almsbowl, and the mother had the robes in a tray on her head. The youth was afterwards handed into the hall by the whole company of friends. After some preliminaries he was formally passed in, cloths being stretched all the way out until each had a hand on this connecting line. The women did not enter the building at all, and yet they were thus in touch with the candidate until he was duly placed. Some of the elderly women sat with a rapt look on their faces, showing that to them it was a partaking in a serious act. In the case of the Siamese candidate there was nothing of this ceremony.

He simply walked in and the women seemed to follow with the men if they desired. The whole thing it seemed to me was approached more reverently by the Mons.

There was a religious movement amongst the Mons some years ago called *thò padoa*, which may be translated "the inner doctrine." I heard of it when I first came to Burma, but never came into actual contact with it. There was apparently a contemporaneous movement in Siam. It seems to have been quite active amongst the Mons of the Meklong valley some forty-five years ago. It consisted in emphasising the practice of the doctrine in every day life as in contrast with the attendance on mere forms. For example on any of the four uposatha or fast days of the lunar month, that is full moon, change, and the eighth from full or change, people who feel disposed present themselves before the monks and in the Mon phrase ask permission to keep the five or eight precepts as the case may be, and are given permission, before setting themselves to keep the day. The inner law people, however, held that the precepts should be kept regularly without the mediation of the monks. The movement had much in common with the revivals of Christian lands, and led in individual cases to similar excesses. There was often great excitement and people claimed special inspiration. Some had dreams and visions, and supposed themselves to be possessed of hidden knowledge.

LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE.

In the matter of language the Mons of Siam in their own communities use the national speech. Going over there as I did with an actual residence amongst the Talaings of at least fourteen years, I had no difficulty in communicating with the people in their own language. As in Burma the Talaings use a great number of Burmese words to express common ideas, and to describe common things, so in Siam we find the Mons using Siamese words to an equal extent. Still the proportion of alien to native words is so slight in either case that we had no difficulty in understanding the people, nor had they in following us. There is a good deal of dialectical difference in this country, different words for the same things being sometimes used in different districts, but the greatest differences are perhaps in the changing of the sounds, more especially vowel sounds. There are two chief dialects distinguished, and it is usual to call them the Pegu and the Martaban dialects respectively. There is, however, a great variety in the second of these, chiefly I suppose because it is the more generally used. All these differences occur amongst the Mons of Siam just as they are found here. There are Mons in the Pathom district who exhibit the Pegu dialect in their speech, whilst in most other districts the Martaban dialect is shown with all its variations. To me it was an indication that those who spoke the Pegu dialect were of the old Mons whose fathers had come from Pegu, whereas most others were descendants of the more recent incomers from Martaban. It was very interesting to come across these old familiar differences.

It would not be fair to close this paper without a reference to the not inconsiderable Mon literature which has been well conserved in Siam. Col. Gerini is I think my authority for saying that Phayre in collecting his materials for his *History of Burma* procured from Siam a copy of the quasi-historical Mon work *Rajadhirat*. His eighth chapter is pretty much a condensation of the story therein told. Burmese history generally is a good deal indebted to another work of a similar kind, which has also been preserved in Siam. I refer to what is called the story of *Dhammaceti*, though the greater part of it is taken up with the story of *Bureng Naung* and his campaigns. These two works are now available in printed form and it is to the Mons of Siam that we owe their preservation. A great many of the more popular books, the *Jātakas*, poetical works, and handbooks of various kinds are still kept in circulation in the old palm-leaf book form, but many of the old collections have been allowed to get scattered about or go to ruin. I visited a monastery up the Menam Chao Phaya where we found heaps of manuscripts thrown into a great water vessel in the utmost confusion as into a waste paper basket. I picked out a well preserved copy of the *Mahavamsa*, the translation of which had been made some three hundred and fifty years ago, together with a copy of the *Lokavidu* that had been inscribed in Burma at the beginning of the last century. This present neglect is taking place because the literature is not being studied in these places. Mention must be made of the good work that has been done in the printing of Mon books by the Monk *Phra Candakando* at Paklat. He has been greatly hampered by want of funds. His great ambition has, of course, been to complete his thirty-nine volumes of the *Tripitaka*. His latest piece of work was setting up the Mon type of the *Mon-English Dictionary* for the Siam Society.

R. HALLIDAY,

THE CYCLE OF BURMESE YEAR NAMES

By J. S. FURNIVALL.

In the Burmese calendar there is a cycle of year names. There are twelve year names corresponding with those of the Pali lunar months. The first year is named after the first month and so on until in the thirteenth year the cycle begins anew. The fact is of historical importance because in the old inscriptions the name of the year almost invariably accompanies the date; thus any mistake in copying the date should be detected by a comparison between the date and the year name.

Unfortunately there is no longer any sure tradition as to the system on which these year names were assigned. This paper gives the result of an attempt to determine the system by examining a large number of examples. But the circumstances which have led up to it deserve passing notice. About¹ ten years ago I wrote a short note for this journal which, owing to my complete ignorance of what I was writing about, contained a misstatement in almost every line. Even the title was misleading. But the note served its purpose; it drew attention to the twelve year cycle, then not generally known. Some years later Mr. Blagden, who has done so much for Pyu and Talaing epigraphy, came across the article when he was trying to fix the date of certain inscriptions. But on attempting to apply the rule as given there he found that the result was unsatisfactory and that the rule was obviously wrongly stated. He asked for further information and a solution was propounded by another contributor, Mr. de Silva, who has specialised in Burmese Astronomy. Mr. de Silva pointed out that the system of year names was connected with the revolutions of Jupiter and suggested that it was the practice to drop a year at intervals of 60 years. Then the Archaeological Department took the matter up and Maung Hla, the Archaeological scholar at that time, showed that the rule originally stated, if slightly modified, gave generally accurate results. During the rains of 1918 Mr. S. G. Grantham compiled and tabulated all the data contained in the six volumes of printed inscriptions. These six volumes, with their numbers in the catalogue of the Bernard Free Library, are:—J 93, Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. 1 (1900) Vol. 2 (1903); J 94, Inscriptions at Mandalay collected by King Bodawpaya, Vols. 1 and 2 (1897); J 99, Inscriptions at Amarapura collected by King Bodawpaya (1913); J 116, Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (1892). The results of his work are summarised below.

In these volumes there are very nearly 900 instances between 380 B. E. (1018 A. D.) and 1217 B. E. (1845 A. D.) in which the date is accompanied by a year name. The spelling shows great variations and in a few cases it has been impossible to identify the name in the text

¹ Vol. I, Part i; Vol. VI, Part ii; Vol. VII, Part iii; Vol. VIII, Part iii. See also Vol. VIII p. 259 for list of Nakshatras.

with any of those in the recognised cycle. But in 871 instances the name can be identified with reasonable accuracy. From these examples it is clear that the ordinary rule may be stated thus: "Subtract 2 from the date according to the Burmese era; divide the figure thus obtained by 12, and the remainder will represent the number of the year in the following series.

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. Jeyya | 4. Asahli | 7. Assayujja | 10. Phushya |
| 2. Wisaka | 5. Sarawan | 8. Krattika | 11. Magha |
| 3. Jettha | 6. Bhadra | 9. Migasi | 12. Bharagunni." |

Over the whole period two thirds of the names given in the inscriptions tally with the name as calculated by this rule.

Although it is possible that some other system of calculation was sometimes employed this seems unlikely. Up to the year 542 B. E. the year name calculated according to the rule is more often wrong than right. Then for 24 years the results are correct in fifty per cent. of the cases. Not until 567 B. E. does the year name as calculated usually agree with that given in the text; but then, for more than 150 years the names agree in 75 per cent. of the inscriptions. From 735 B. E. onwards the number of discrepancies becomes proportionately larger and from 783 B. E. the result of applying the rule is in general unsatisfactory. Many of these discrepancies must certainly be due to mistakes in copying. It is very easy to make a mistake in copying a number, especially where the original is not very clearly written. In three of the volumes the copies were taken, not from the originals, but from stone copies made by Bodawpaya. All the inscriptions must have been copied at least once; many of them are written in a script that can no longer easily be read; many are greatly worn, and in most cases the copies were made from rubbings of the stones. The names as recorded in the the inscriptions show extraordinary vagaries of spelling. From a list of these which I give below the possibility of confusion will be apparent. Jeyya may easily be read as Jettha, Asahli as Assayujja, Bhadra as Magha or either of these as Phushya; Phushya, again may be confounded with Wisakha, and Sarawan is not always distinct from Bharagunni. Moreover, even where the general rule gives the most unsatisfactory results, there is no clear indication of any other system. Thus, discrepancies must be assigned in all probability to errors in copying and, in the case of any date which it is important to verify, if the year name as published does not agree with that which would be given by the rule, it would always be worth while to refer to the original inscription. And I think it may be taken as established that, where the year name as recorded does agree with that which would be given by the rule, there can be little question of the accuracy of the date to which it refers. Again, where the figures in the date are obscure and might possibly refer to any one of two or more dates, there is a probability, and between the years 567 B. E. and 735 B. E. a very high probability, that they refer to the date for which the year name as recorded agrees with that obtained by calculation.

Table A appended to this note shows for each year between 531 B. E. (1169 A. D.) and 830 B. E. (1468 A. D.) the number of inscriptions in these volumes which give both the date and the year name, and the number of instances in which any of the 12 names in the list are given for that year. For example, 8 inscriptions have been found bearing the date 560 B. E. In 4 the year name is given as Bladra, and the names Krattika, Phushya, Magha and Jeyya are each given once. The year names in the first column correspond with the names which would be given by calculation according to the rule stated above.

Out of 757 instances the year name in the inscription corresponds in 480 cases with that given by calculation. No other arrangement of the cycle (so long as the order is preserved) gives more than 39 instances and only two others exceed 30. It deserves notice that the arrangement which gives 39 instances and one of those which gives 31 are immediately on either side of the ordinary arrangement according to the rule. I have been informed that in early times the Burmese year was reckoned from Pyatho (January) and not, as now, from Tagu (April). Any confusion arising from this would tend to throw the arrangement out by one year in either direction and this may possibly account for the comparatively frequent occurrence of a difference of one year between the name in the inscription and that given by calculation. To facilitate reference to the original inscription in cases of divergence from the rule I have shown in the remarks column, so far as conveniently possible, the volumes in which the divergent inscriptions may be traced. A, B, C, D relate to books J 93, J 94, J 99 and J 116 respectively. Thus, there are two inscriptions bearing the date 532 B. E.; neither inscription bears a name corresponding with that given by calculation, but any one who wishes to trace them will find one in J 94, the volume containing the inscriptions collected at Mandalay by King Bodawpaya, and one in J 116, the volume of inscriptions from Pagan, Pinya and Ava.

Table B is essentially the same as Table A but the paucity of inscriptions in the earliest and latest years renders it inconvenient to tabulate the years in cycles; the years prior to 531 B. E. are given in Table B (i) and those subsequent to 830 B. E. in Table B (ii).

J. S. FURNIVALL.

Appendix. Variant spellings of year-names.

Jeyya

ဇယ်။ ဝဲ။ ဖိယ။ စည်။ ဆယ်။ ဝဲယျ။ ဖိ။

Wisākhā

ဗိသုက်။ ဗြိသာ။ ဝိသုက်။ ဗိသာ။ ဝိသာခီ။ ဖိ။ ဝိသရက်။

Jeṭṭha

ဇိဿ။ ဝိသု။ ဖိတြိ။ ဝိဿတ္တ။ ဇိတ။ ဇေဌ။

Asaḥī

အာသင်္ဂ။ အာဆယ်။ အာသိန်။ အာသတ်။ အုသိန်။ အာသတ္တ။

Sarawaṇ

သရဝက်။ သယုတ။ သြဝန်။ သရက်။ သရက်ဝက်။ သတ်။

Bhadra

ဗတ်။ ဘဿ။ ဘတ္တ။ ဖဿ။ ဖတ္တ။ ဂိတ်။

Assayujja

အာသဉ္ဇ။ အာသယုဇ္ဇ။ အာဆယ်။ အာသိန်။ အာသတ်။ အာသုတ်။ အူသိန်။ အဿသုဇ။

အာသုတ်။ အာသတ္တ။ အာသုယုတ်။

Krattikkā

ကျတိုက်။ ကြတိုက်။ ကြိကျက။ ကြတိက။

Migasi

မိဂသီ။ မြိက္ကသို။ မိဂ။ မြိက်သိုလ်။ မြိဂသေရ။

Phushya

ဖုသျှ။ ဖုဿ။ ဖုတ်သ။ ဖုဿ။

Māgha

မာသ။ မာဂ။ မာခ။ မာသ။

Bharaguṇṇī

ဗလဂုက်။ ဗလဂုက်။ ဗရဂုက်။ ဗရဂုက်။ ဗလကိုင်း။ ဖရုန်။ ဥတုလမ္ဘာရာလင်္က။ [? Uttara-
bharaguṇṇī] ဘလဂုတ္တ။ ဖရုန်။

Date.	Year names given in inscriptions corresponding to date given in column (1); abbreviation:— <i>Jeyya</i> (J), <i>Wisākhā</i> (W), <i>Jettā</i> (Jt), <i>Asāhi</i> (A), <i>Sarawā</i> (S), <i>Māgha</i> (Ma), <i>Bharagunṇi</i> (Bg); the number of instances in which the name in											
1	2a	2b	3a	3b	4a	4b	5a	5b	6a	6b	7a	7b
531	J		W		Jt		A		S		Bd	
532	W	1	Jt		A		S		Bd		Ay	
533	Jt	1	A		S		Bd		Ay		K	
534	A		S		Bd		Ay		K		Mi	
535	S	1	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P	
536	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P		Ma	
537	Ay	2	K		Mi		P		Ma		Bg	
538	K		Mi		P		Ma		Bg		J	
539	Mi		P		Ma	1	Bg		J		W	
540	P		Ma		Bg		J		W		Jt	
541	Ma	1	Bg		J		W	1	Jt	1	A	
542	Bg		J		W		Jt	1	A		S	
*		6				1		2		1		
543	J	1	W		Jt		A		S		Bd	
544	W	1	Jt		A		S		Bd		Ay	
545	Jt	1	A		S		Bd		Ay		K	
546	A	1	S		Bd		Ay		K		Mi	
547	S		Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P	
548	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P		Ma	
549	Ay	1	K		Mi		P		Ma		Bg	
550	K	1	Mi		P		Ma		Bg		J	
551	Mi		P		Ma		Bg		J		W	
552	P		Ma		Bg	1	J		W	1	Jt	
553	Ma	1	Bg		J		W		Jt	1	A	
554	Bg		J		W		Jt		A	1	S	
*		7				1				3		
555	J		W		Jt	1	A		S		Bd	
556	W	1	Jt		A		S		Bd		Ay	
557	Jt		A		S	2	Bd		Ay		K	
558	A	3	S		Bd		Ay		K		Mi	
559	S	5	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P	
560	Bd	4	Ay		K	1	Mi		P	1	Ma	1
561	Ay		K		Mi		P		Ma		Bg	
562	K	2	Mi		P		Ma		Bg		J	
563	Mi	1	P		Ma		Bg		J	1	W	
564	P		Ma		Bg	1	J		W		Jt	
565	Ma		Bg		J	1	W		Jt		A	
566	Bg		J		W		Jt		A		S	
*		16				6				2		1
567	J	1	W		Jt		A		S	2	Bd	
568	W	1	Jt		A		S		Bd		Ay	
569	Jt	3	A		S		Bd		Ay		K	
570	A	2	S	1	Bd		Ay		K		Mi	
571	S		Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P	
572	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P		Ma	
573	Ay	2	K		Mi		P		Ma		Bg	
574	K	2	Mi		P		Ma		Bg		J	
575	Mi	1	P		Ma		Bg		J		W	
576	P	1	Ma		Bg		J		W		Jt	
577	Ma	2	Bg		J		W		Jt		A	
578	Bg	2	J		W		Jt		A		S	1
*		17		1						2		1
579	J	1	W		Jt		A		S		Bd	
580	W		Jt		A		S		Bd		Ay	
581	Jt	1	A		S		Bd		Ay		K	1
582	A	1	S		Bd		Ay		K		Mi	
583	S	1	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P	
584	Bd		Ay		K		Mi		P		Ma	
585	Ay	4	K	2	Mi		P		Ma		Bg	
586	K	2	Mi	1	P		Ma		Bg		J	
587	Mi	3	P		Ma		Bg		J		W	
588	P	2	Ma		Bg		J		W		Jt	
589	Ma	3	Bg		J		W		Jt		A	
590	Bg	2	J		W		Jt		A		S	
*		20		3								1

* The figures in italics show the totals for each cycle.

† A, B, C, D, refer to different collections of inscriptions (see text).

the name given in the inscription is shown in column (a) by an *Bhadra* (Bd), *Assayujja* (Ay), *Krattikā* (K), *Migāsī* (Mi), *Phushya* (P), column (a) is found for the date in column (1) is shown in column (b).

Remarks.†

8a	8b	9a	9b	10a	10b	11a	11b	12a	12b	13a	13b	14
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	1	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1	J	...	B, 1; D, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	A, 1.
W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	B, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	B, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	2	Mi	...	A, 1; B, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	...	B, 3.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	B, 1.
...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	C, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	B, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	C, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	D, 2.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	C, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	A, 2; B, 1.
...	1	...	...	...	2	...	2	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 1.
K	...	Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1.
Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	A, 1; B, 2.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	C, 1.
Bg	...	J	1	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	B, 2; C, 1; D, 1
J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	A, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	C, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	A, 2.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	...	B, 1; C, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	1	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 2.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	B, 2.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	D, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	A, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	1	P	...	D, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	D, 1.
...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	D, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	D, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	2	S	...	B, 1; D, 1.
J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	2	Bd	...	A, 1; B, 2; C, 1; D, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	A, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	1	D, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	B, 2.
...	1	...	2	...	...	...	5	...	1	

Date.	Year names given in inscriptions corresponding to date given in column (1); abbreviation:— <i>Jeyya</i> (J), <i>Wisākhā</i> (W), <i>Jittā</i> (Jt), <i>Asāhi</i> (A), <i>Sarawā</i> (S), <i>Māgha</i> (Ma), <i>Bharaṇṇi</i> (Bg); the number of instances in which the name in											
1	2a	2b	3a	3b	4a	4b	5a	5b	6a	6b	7a	7b
591	J	5	W	1	Jt	1	A	..	S	..	Bd	..
592	W	2	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..
593	Jt	3	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	1	K	..
594	A	4	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..
595	S	4	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..
596	Bd	1	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..
597	Ay	3	K	3	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..
598	K	8	Mi	..	P	1	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..
599	Mi	7	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..
600	P	3	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..
601	Ma	3	Bg	..	J	1	W	..	Jt	..	A	..
602	Bg	1	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	1	S	1
*	...	44	...	4	...	3	...	...	...	2	...	1
603	J	1	W	..	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..
604	W	10	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..
605	Jt	4	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..
606	A	1	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..
607	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..
608	Bd	1	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..
609	Ay	2	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..
610	K	6	Mi	3	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	1
611	Mi	4	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	1
612	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	1	Jt	3
613	Ma	1	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..
614	Bg	1	J	..	W	1	Jt	..	A	..	S	..
*	...	31	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	5
615	J	5	W	..	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..
616	W	2	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..
617	Jt	4	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..
618	A	..	S	1	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..
619	S	..	Bd	1	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..
620	Bd	1	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..
621	Ay	2	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..
622	K	5	Mi	..	P	1	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..
623	Mi	3	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..
624	P	6	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..
625	Ma	2	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..
626	Bg	1	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..	S	..
*	...	31	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
627	J	5	W	..	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..
628	W	3	Jt	..	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..
629	Jt	1	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..
630	A	6	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..
631	S	5	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..
632	Bd	2	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	1
633	Ay	4	K	..	Mi	1	P	..	Ma	2	Bg	..
634	K	5	Mi	..	P	1	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..
635	Mi	2	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..
636	P	6	Ma	1	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..
637	Ma	2	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..
638	Bg	3	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..	S	..
*	...	44	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	1
639	J	1	W	..	Jt	1	A	..	S	..	Bd	..
640	W	4	Jt	..	A	1	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..
641	Jt	4	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..
642	A	..	S	..	Bd	..	Ay	..	K	..	Mi	..
643	S	2	Bd	..	Ay	1	K	..	Mi	..	P	1
644	Bd	..	Ay	1	K	1	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..
645	Ay	1	K	..	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..
646	K	1	Mi	..	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..
647	Mi	..	P	1	Ma	..	J	..	W	..	W	..
648	P	..	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..
649	Ma	..	Bg	..	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..
650	Bg	1	J	..	W	..	Jt	..	A	..	S	..
*	...	14	...	2	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	1

* The figures in italics show the totals for each cycle.

† A, B, C, D, refer to different collections of inscriptions (see text).

the name given in the inscription is shown in column (a) by an *Bhadra* (Bd), *Asayujja* (Ay), *Krattikkā* (K), *Migasi* (Mi), *Phushya* (P), column (a) is found for the date in column (1) is shown in column (b).

Remarks. †

8a	8b	9a	9b	10a	10b	11a	11b	12a	12b	13a	13b	14
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 1; C, 1.
K	1	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	D, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	D, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	2	A, 2; D, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	...
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	...
J	...	W	3	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	1	A, 1; B, 1.
W	...	Jt	2	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	C, 1; D, 2.
Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	D, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	...
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	C, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	A, 1; B, 1.
...	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	1	P	2	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 2; C, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	A, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	...
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	2	D, 2.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	...
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	...
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	1	Ay	...	D, 5.
Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	A, 1; D, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	B, 3; C, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	...
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	B, 1.
...	1	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	3	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	...
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	...
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	...
P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A, 1; C, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	1	A	...	A, 1; B, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	...
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	D, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	...
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	...
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	...
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	...
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	...
...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	...
K	1	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	A, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	...
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	2	J	1	W	...	Jt	...	B, 3.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	C, 1; D, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	A, 1.
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	B, 2; C, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	1	A, 1; B, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	...
A	2	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	1	B, 2; C, 1; D, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	...
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	1	A, 1.
...	3	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	3	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	A, 1; C, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1.
Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	C, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	...
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	A, 1; C, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	...
J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	C, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	...
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	B, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	A, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	...
Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	C, 1.
...	1	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...

Date.	Year names given in inscriptions corresponding to date given in column (1); abbreviation:— <i>Jeyya</i> (J), <i>Wisākhā</i> (W), <i>Jettā</i> (Jt), <i>Asāhi</i> (A), <i>Sarawā</i> (S), <i>Māgha</i> (Ma), <i>Bharagunṇi</i> (Bg); the number of instances in which the name in											
1	2a	2b	3a	3b	4a	4b	5a	5b	6a	6b	7a	7b
651	J	2	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	1	Bd	...
652	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
653	Jt	2	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
654	A	3	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
655	S	4	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
656	Bd	2	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...
657	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
658	K	2	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
659	Mi	2	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
660	P	2	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
661	Ma	5	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
662	Bg	2	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	1
*	...	26	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	1
663	J	4	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
664	W	3	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
665	Jt	2	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
666	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	1
667	S	3	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
668	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	2	P	...	Ma	1
669	Ay	2	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
670	K	2	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1
671	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
672	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
673	Ma	2	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
674	Bg	2	J	1	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	...
*	...	22	...	2	...	1	...	2	...	2	...	3
675	J	2	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...
676	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
677	Jt	4	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
678	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
679	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
680	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
681	Ay	1	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
682	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
683	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
684	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
685	Ma	2	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
686	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	10	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...
687	J	3	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
688	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
689	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
690	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
691	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	...
692	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...
693	Ay	3	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
694	K	2	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1
695	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
696	P	2	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
697	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
698	Bg	3	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	15	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	7
699	J	3	W	2	Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
700	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
701	Jt	1	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
702	A	7	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
703	S	2	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
704	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	2	Ma	...
705	Ay	2	K	...	Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
706	K	...	Mi	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
707	Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	Jt	...
708	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	A	...
709	Ma	3	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	S	...
710	Bg.	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	...	...
*	...	21	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	3	...	...

* The figures in italics show the totals for each cycle.
† A, B, C, D, refer to different collections of inscriptions (see text).

the name given in the inscription is shown in column (a) by an *Bhadra* (Bd), *Assayujja* (Ay), *Kratikkā* (K), *Migari* (Mi), *Phushya* (P), column (a) is found for the date in column (1) is shown in column (b).

Remarks.

8a	8b	9a	9b	10a	10b	11a	11b	12a	12b	13a	13b	14
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	C, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	A, 1.
Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	C, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	E, 1; D, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	D, 1
W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	C, 1.
...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	...	Mi	...	P	2	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1; C, 1
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	B, 1
P	2	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A, 2; B, 2
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	B, 3
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	C, 1
Jt	...	A	3	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	B, 3; C, 1
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	C, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	A, 1; B, 1.
...	2	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 1.
K	...	Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	A, 1; B, 1; C, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	B, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	A, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	B, 1.
...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	C, 1; D, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	B, 1.
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	C, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	C, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	1	K	1	Mi	1	A, 1; B, 2; C, 1
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	...	B, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	2	...	1	...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 3.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	...	B, 1; C, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	2	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	A, 1; B, 2.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	1	A, 2; B, 2.
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	A, 1
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	B, 1; D, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	1	A, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	C, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	

Date.	Year names given in inscriptions corresponding to date given in column (1); abbreviation:— <i>Jeyya</i> (J), <i>Wisākhā</i> (W), <i>Jetṭha</i> (Jt), <i>Asāḷhi</i> (A), <i>Sarawāṇ</i> (S), <i>Māgha</i> (Ma), <i>Bharaḍaṇṇi</i> (Bg); the number of instances in which the name in											
1	2a	2b	3a	3b	4a	4b	5a	5b	6a	6b	7a	7b
711	J	3	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...
712	W	8	Jt	...	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	...
713	Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...
714	A	6	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
715	S	4	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
716	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
717	Ay	3	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
718	K	4	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
719	Mi	2	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1	J	...	W	...
720	P	5	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
721	Ma	6	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
722	Bg	3	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
723	J	46	W	...	Jt	...	A	4	S	...	Bd	...
724	W	3	Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
725	Jt	4	A	...	S	...	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...
726	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
727	S	4	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	1	Mi	...	P	2
728	Bd	4	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
729	Ay	1	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
730	K	5	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
731	Mi	4	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1
732	P	1	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
733	Ma	3	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	1	A	...
734	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
735	J	37	W	...	Jt	...	A	2	S	2	Bd	3
736	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
737	Jt	3	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	1	K	...
738	A	6	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
739	S	4	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
740	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
741	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
742	K	1	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
743	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	...
744	P	2	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
745	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
746	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	...
747	J	24	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	3	Bd	...
748	W	1	Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
749	Jt	2	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
750	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
751	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
752	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
753	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
754	K	3	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
755	Mi	2	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1
756	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...
757	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	3
758	Bg	5	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
759	J	17	W	...	Jt	2	A	...	S	1	Bd	4
760	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
761	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
762	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
763	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
764	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
765	Ay	2	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
766	K	1	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
767	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
768	P	2	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
769	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
770	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* The figures in italics show the totals for each cycle.
 † A, B, C, D, refer to different collections of inscriptions (see text).

the name given in the inscription is shown in column (a) by an *Bhadra* (Bd), *Assayujja* (Ay), *Krattikkā* (K), *Migāsi* (Mi), *Phushya* (P), column (a) is found for the date in column (1) is shown in column (b).

Remarks.†

8a	8b	9a	9b	10a	10b	11a	11b	12a	12b	1'a	13b	14
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	C, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	1	B, 1; C, 2.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	C, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	B, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	1	Bd	...	Ay	...	C, 1.
Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	B, 2.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	1	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	1	
Ay	1	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	A, 1; C, 1.
K	2	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 3.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	B, 1; C, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	C, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	A, 1, B, 3, C, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	C, 1.
J	...	W	...	Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	2	A, 1, B, 1, D, 1
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	B, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	B, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	A, 1; B, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	B, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	C, 1.
...	3	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	3	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	2	B, 3; D, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	B, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	S	...	C, 1.
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	D, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	2	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	B, 2, C,
...	2	...	...	...	2	...	3	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	B, 1.
Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	1	C, 2; D, 1.
P	...	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	B, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	A	...	B, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	B, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	C, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	B, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	1	P	...	A, 1, B, 2, D, 1.
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	2	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	D, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	1	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	...	B, 1; C, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	2	B, 2.
Bg	...	J	1	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	B, 1.
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	1	B, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	1	K	...	C, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	3	

Date.	Year names given in inscriptions corresponding to date given in column (1); abbreviation:— <i>Jeyya</i> (J), <i>Widākha</i> (W), <i>Jittā</i> (Jt), <i>Asaḥi</i> (A), <i>Sarawon</i> (S), <i>Māgha</i> (Ma), <i>Braragunni</i> (Bg); the number of instances in which the name in											
1	2a	2b	3a	3b	4a	4b	5a	5b	6a	6b	7a	7b
771	J	...	W	1	Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
772	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
773	Jt	2	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
774	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
775	S	2	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
776	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
777	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
778	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
779	Mi	2	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
780	P	...	Ma	2	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
781	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
782	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	6	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
783	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
784	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
785	Jt	2	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
786	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
787	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
788	Bd	1	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
789	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	1	Bg	...
790	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
791	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	W	...
792	P	1	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
793	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
794	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
795	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
796	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
797	Jt	...	A	1	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
798	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
799	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
800	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
801	Ay	2	K	2	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1
802	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
803	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
804	P	3	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
805	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
806	Bg	2	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	7	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
807	J	1	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
808	W	1	Jt	1	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
809	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
810	A	3	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
811	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
812	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
813	Ay	1	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1
814	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
815	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
816	P	...	Ma	1	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
817	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
818	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	6	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
819	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...
820	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...
821	Jt	3	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...
822	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...
823	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...
824	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...
825	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...
826	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...
827	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...
828	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...
829	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...
830	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...
*	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* The figures in italics show the totals for each cycle.

† A, B C, D, refer to different collections of inscriptions (see text).

the name given in the inscription is shown in column (a) by an *Bhāra* (Bd), *Assayujja* (Av), *Kratikā* (K), *Migasi* (Mi), *Phushya* (P), column (a) is found for the date in column 1) is shown in column (b).

Remarks.

8a	8b	9a	9b	10a	10b	11a	11b	12a	12b	13a	13b	14
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 2.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	B, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	C, 1.
...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Rg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	C, 1.
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	1	C, 1.
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	A, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	1	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	1	B, 1.
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	A, 1.
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	1	Jt	...	C, 1.
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	1	B, 1.
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	B, 3.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	D, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	A, 1.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	B, 1.
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	A, 1.
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	1	...	...	...	...
Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	B, 3.
K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	
Mi	2	P	...	Ma	...	Bg	1	J	...	W	...	
P	...	Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	
Ma	...	Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	
Bg	...	J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	
J	...	W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	
W	...	Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	
Jt	...	A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	
A	...	S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	
S	...	Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	
Bd	...	Ay	...	K	...	Mi	...	P	...	Ma	...	
...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...

TABLE B(i) Comparison of Year names as given by calculation and in inscriptions up to 530 B.E.

Date.	Year Name as given by Calculation.	No. of Inscriptions.	(a) Year name as given in inscription. (b) No. of instances				
350	Rhadra	1	Māgha	1			
382	Krattikā	1	Migasi	1			
397	Māgha	3	Jeyya	3			
398	Bharagunṇi	1	Bharagunṇi	1			
402	Asalhi	1	Phushya	1			
405	Assayujja	1	Jetṭha	1			
413	Jetṭha	1	Jetṭha	1			
416	Bhadra	1	Asalhi	1			
40	Phushya	3	Phushya	1	Jeyya ...	1	Bharagunṇi 1
422	Bharagunṇi	2	Krattikā	2			
426	Asalhi	1	Sarawaṇ	1			
430	Krattikā	2	Jeyya	1	Bhadra ...	1	
433	Māgha	1	Migasi	1			
443	Migasi	1	Migasi	1			
444	Phushya	1	Asalhi	1			
447	Jeyya	1	Sarawaṇ	1			
449	Jetṭha	1	Jetṭha	1			
458	Bharagunṇi	1	Bharagunṇi	1			
459	Jeyya	1	Phushya	1			
464	Bhadra	1	Asalhi	1			
467	Migasi	2	Wisākhā	2			
469	Māgha	2	Māgha	2			
475	Sarawaṇ	1	Sarawaṇ	1			
478	Krattikā	1	Asalhi	1			
490	Krattikā	1	Bharagunṇi	1			
501	Assayujja	1	Assayujja	1			
502	Krattikā	1	Assayujja	1			
503	Migasi	1	Asalhi	1			
506	Bharagunṇi	1	Jeyya	1			
508	Wisākhā	1	Wisākhā	1			
510	Asalhi	3	Asalhi	3	Wisākhā...	1	
511	Sarawaṇ	2	Asalhi	1			
512	Bhadra	1	Wisākhā	1			
513	Assayujja	1	Assayujja	1			
517	Māgha	1	Jeyya	1			
519	Jeyya	1	Jetṭha	1			
522	Asalhi	1	Jeyya	1			
523	Sarawaṇ	1	Bharagunṇi	1			
524	Bhadra	1	Bharagunṇi	1			
527	Migasi	1	Migasi	1			
530	Bharagunṇi	3	Bharagunṇi	1			

TABLE B (ii) Comparison of Year names as given by calculation and in inscriptions after 830 B.E.

Date.	Year Names given by Calculation.	No. of Inscriptions.	(a) Year name as given in inscription (b) No. of instances		
830	Bharagunni	1	Bharagunni	1	
832	Wisakha	1	Wisakha	1	
833	Jettha	4	Jeyya	2	Asalhi
838	Krattika	1	Krattika	1	
840	Phushya	1	Phushya	1	
844	Wisakha	1	Wisakha	1	
846	Asalhi	1	Asalhi	1	
863	Migasi	1	Migasi	1	
864	Phushya	1	Phushya	1	
865	Magha	2	Magha	2	
866	Bharagunni	1	Jettha	1	
868	Wisakha	1	Wisakha	1	
870	Asalhi	3	Asalhi	3	
871	Sarawan	2	Migasi	1	Magha
878	Bharagunni	1	Wisakha	1	
880	Wisakha	1	Assayujja	1	
881	Jettha	1	Jettha	1	
891	Jeyya	1	Magha	1	
898	Krattika	1	Phushya	1	
902	Bharagunni	4	Bharagunni	4	
905	Jettha	1	Bharagunni	1	
912	Phushya	1	Phushya	1	
913	Magha	1	Magha	1	
920	Bhadra	1	Bhadra	1	
925	Magha	1	Magha	1	
928	Wisakha	2	Wisakha	2	
942	Asalhi	1	Jettha	1	
963	Jeyya	1	Phushya	1	
964	Wisakha	1	Magha	1	
967	Sarawan	2	Sarawan	2	
991	Sarawan	1	Asalhi	1	
1098	Asalhi	1	Asalhi	1	
1125	Assayujja	2	Assayujja	2	
1126	Krattika	2	Krattika	2	
1128	Phushya	2	Phushya	2	
1138	Krattika	1	Migasi	1	
1143	Jeyya	1	Jeyya	1	
1145	Jettha	2	Jettha	2	
1151	Migasi	1	Migasi	1	
1183	Sarawan	1	Sarawan	1	
1217	Jettha	1	Jettha	1	

FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN.

III. THE TEN SIMPLETONS.

BY SAN SHWE BU.

According to an old saying that birds of a feather generally flock together, so there once met in a village, by some strange fatality, ten simple rustics of similar tastes and disposition. One day while they were having breakfast under a large and shady tree, one of them began counting the number of those who were present. But forgetting to include himself he could not get beyond nine. So after going through the same process three or four times he eventually told the others that a misfortune had happened because out of ten, their original number, only nine remained, and that one of them had mysteriously disappeared. One or two disbelieved this, as they were fully certain that no one had left them from the time they first assembled together under the tree. So to satisfy themselves they began counting over again, and to their astonishment they could not get beyond the number nine, for, like the first man, each of them excluded himself in the telling. Many were the reasons put forward to account for so strange a disappearance, but somehow nobody could be fully convinced.

While these things were taking place, an old man happened to pass by that way. Seeing the men in hot dispute over something or other he addressed them thus, "My sons, if you are not actually quarrelling, you are at least very much excited and are on the verge of coming to blows. Tell me, I pray you, the nature of your dispute so that I may, if it lies in my power, settle it amicably." So one of the men replied, "Grandfather, you are just the person we are looking for. My friends and myself are disputing as to our actual number. Some say we are only nine; but others stoutly refuse to accept this; and hence all the present excitement." "Very well," said the old man, "if I can convince you that you are not nine really but ten as you originally were, will you become my slaves?" To this they all agreed. They did not care what manner of work they did, provided they could be certain that all their friends were together. So the old man told each of them to bring him a stick. When this was done the men were told to count the sticks. They all counted ten, and when they were fully satisfied that their number had in no way diminished, they greatly marvelled at the wisdom of the old man. So they willingly became his slaves and followed him home.

At that time the paddy was just ripe. One morning the old man sent for his newly acquired slaves and said to them, "My sons, I want you to do some reaping for me today. Don't do the job in bits, one here and one there, but you should all keep together to one side of the field and gradually work up in a line till you come to the other side." Unfortunately these instructions were too technical and too complicated for their simple pates, for they contained a phrase which when literally ren-

dered meant "put a hamadryad on one side and reap". So totally misunderstanding the phrase, the poor rustics began their work by searching high and low for the elusive reptile. From early morn till dewy eve this went on until, night approaching rapidly, the old man in his anxiety at their delay went out to investigate for himself. He found them in the midst of their fruitless search, and on enquiry one of them replied, "Oh grandfather tell us what we are to do now. The whole day long we have been searching for a hamadryad to enable us to begin our operations on the field. We have not succeeded and hence all this delay." The old man was astonished and after having cursed their gross stupidity he explained to them what was really meant by his particularly puzzling instructions.

The next day reaping began in real earnest. By sunset the whole business was completed. When the labourers returned home with sheaves of corn on their heads the old man was unfortunately away from home. So not knowing where to deposit their loads they asked the old lady, who was then engaged in weaving, where they should do so. She happened to be extremely cranky at the time, and so she shouted at the top of her voice, "You fools, do you mean to say that you really do not know where such things are usually placed? If so place them on my head." No sooner were the words out of her mouth than the men, impatient to relieve themselves, began discharging their loads on the hapless old lady. The result was disastrous; and her soul was instantly carried off on the wings of death.

When the old man returned home he enquired after his wife. They told him all that had happened and pointed out the spot where she was lying, at her expressed wish, beneath the sheaves of corn. Instantly he was flinging aside the heavy bundles, and, as he feared, he found his better half lying cold in death. What was to be done? The utmost he could do was to abuse them roundly for their gross stupidity.

The next day the men were ordered to go to the forest to cut firewood for the proper cremation of the body. Having arrived at the place the simpletons first selected a tree of proper girth and proportions. One of them was then sent up to the highest branch of the tree for the purpose of playing the flute so that the rest might be amused. Another was told to cut the trunk, while the remaining eight men stood in a row to receive the tree on their shoulders.

The tree was eventually cut; and in the act of falling the eight men were crushed to death and at the same time the flute player was dashed to pieces. The only survivor was the one who undertook the cutting. Sad and dejected at the loss of his friends he resolved to die also. He therefore laid himself down by the bodies of his friends and thinking that the simple process of death consisted in keeping quite still, he soon fell off to sleep.

By and by a mahout, riding his elephant, while passing that way, came across these men stretched out on the ground. Not knowing

whether they were dead or alive he tried to find out by probing each prostrate figure with the iron goad he had with him. Of course there was no response from the dead; but when he touched the man who pretended to be dead and who was in reality asleep, the man jumped up in extreme surprise. He looked upon the iron goad as a marvellous instrument capable of resuscitating the dead; for was not he quite dead a little while ago, and was not he now fully alive by being simply touched with the wonderful goad? So he addressed the mahout in these words, "Good mister mahout, I should very much like to possess your goad if you will let me have it; and in return I am willing to give you all the *dahs* and axes I now have with me." The mahout was much pleased inwardly at having come across such a simpleton, and blessed the star that guided his footsteps to that place. His goad was not of much value while the *dahs* and axes were far more valuable. Without therefore saying a word he handed over his goad and received the other things the man offered him, and departed.

Armed with the goad the man set out on his travels determined to earn an honest living by means of his new possession. After several days of wandering he entered a large and prosperous village where he found all the people in the deepest grief. Being very curious he asked a person what it was all about. "Don't you know," replied the man, "that the richest person in the village has lost his only daughter? Being a very good and influential man, in these parts we are all expressing our grief for his sad loss. Where could you have been to, so as not to have heard about this before?" Our traveller replied, "Friend, I am a stranger to this place; please overlook my ignorance. If this rich man's daughter is dead and is still in the house I have the means of bringing her back to life. Go and inform him, I pray you, about my presence here, so that if he wishes it I am willing to raise her from the dead."

For some moments the villager remained dumbfounded. Then with a long indrawn breath he ran as fast as he could towards the rich man's house, eager to impart the wonderful information. Arrived there he related everything to the bereaved parent who, unable to believe his ears, caught the man by the arm and hurried him to the spot where he left the marvellous being. When they reached the place the rich man said, "Worthy stranger, is it true that you can restore life to the dead? If so I pray you to come to my house and perform the operation without delay. I will give you such a reward as will enable you to live in comfort for the remainder of your life."

Arrived at the house the man looked upon the serene face of the dead. He ordered a thick curtain to be placed over it so as to prevent others from looking. He then entered it and began probing the corpse with his goad. After the first few applications he was surprised to see that there was no response from the dead. So in his eagerness he probed the body with all his might, tearing the flesh everywhere. This went on for quite a long time. At last the bereaved parents, growing

impatient to learn the result of the cure, raised the curtain to see how far the man had succeeded. To their horror and indignation they found that instead of the dead coming back to life, the remains of their daughter were mutilated beyond recognition.

The servants of the house were hastily summoned and were told to take the man outside the village and after thrashing him soundly to drive him away. When they had carried out their instructions they told him as a parting piece of advice that it would have been better for him if he had joined them in weeping and mourning from the time he first entered the village. But now, since he pretended to be what he was not, he had been justly punished.

Much puzzled and grieved at the failure of his goad he left the village. For several days he walked aimlessly on and at last came to another village where a marriage procession was passing along its main street. He stood in the middle of the road and calmly waited for it to come up to him. As soon as it was sufficiently near he began weeping very loudly and rolled himself in the dust. He did this because he was told to do so by the people of the last village. Whereupon the people who formed the procession became very angry. For they looked upon such evident signs of grief as some thing out of place, and being highly superstitious they considered the man's conduct to be very unlucky. So they beat him severely and told him that on such occasions he should never weep but should shout, laugh and sing with gladness.

He then left the village with the parting advice fully remembered. On the way he had to pass through a thick jungle in which he saw from a distance a trapper wholly absorbed in his work. The man was hiding behind a tree trunk and was intently looking at a bird about to fall into his trap. Of course our simpleton knew nothing at all about this. As soon as he saw the man he began to shout, laugh and sing as previously advised; and on the whole he made so much noise that the bird near the trap flew away in fright.

As may be imagined the trapper was furious. With one great bound he came up to our hero and rained merciless blows on his face and body. Then with a final kick he said, "You utter idiot, didn't you see I was trying to catch a bird, and that to do so it was necessary to remain absolutely quiet? You should have done the same as I was then doing. But now you have spoilt it all, for which you have been justly punished. On the next occasion it will pay you to remember my instructions." The poor simpleton begged and prayed to be excused and informed the irate trapper that his conduct was due to a piece of advice he had previously received. After faithfully promising to do all he was told he left the forest with a sad weary heart.

The next place he reached was a small village of dhobies. Now in this community there had been several thefts of late and the people were particularly careful about strangers lurking about in the neighbourhood.

So when he saw from a distance that the people were engaged in washing clothes, he stealthily approached them by taking advantage of every available cover as was told to him by the trapper.

Being broad daylight the dhobies saw him soon enough. At once their suspicions were aroused and they caught him and tied him up to a tree and flogged him severely, taking him to be the thief who had robbed them. The man howled with pain and told them he was no thief but a mere traveller. He said that he approached the village in the manner he did because he was told to do so by a man he met on the way. The dhobies, finding out their mistake, soon released him; but at the same time they told him that it was entirely his fault. They said that what he should have done was to join them in their work and to do exactly as they did. He would have then been given food and shelter for his services, instead of which he now received, for his foolish conduct, a punishment he justly deserved.

Early next morning the man left the village to take up once more the course of his interrupted travels. After walking all day, and just as the sun was about to dip itself beneath the western horizon he saw a lone hut by the bank of a small stream. Instinctively he knew something was wrong there, for even from a distance he could distinctly hear the sound of blows and angry voices. He rapidly approached the hut, and in it he was amazed to see a man and a woman, apparently husband and wife, engaged in a desperate struggle.

Mindful of what he was told previously in the dhobies' village he rushed into the house and began beating both of them in turn. He did this because he really believed that it was the only way of ingratiating himself with them. But the irate couple, seeing a total stranger interfering in their affairs without any rhyme or reason, soon forgot their own differences. A common enemy had come on the scene. It was their bounden duty to get rid of him as soon as possible. So they both attacked him with curses and blows; and before long the intruder howled for mercy.

On being questioned as to the cause of his strange conduct, he told them the details of his last adventure. He said that it was because he was told to do exactly what he saw others doing and thereby earn their gratitude, that he joined them in their quarrel. "Unfortunately," said the owner of the house, "that advice, though it may do in certain cases, does not apply here at all. The proper thing for you to have done was to separate us by coming in between and then to make up the quarrel by sweet words and phrases." The man faithfully promised to do so on the next occasion. After properly apologising for what he had done he left the house that very evening.

When night had fairly advanced he entered a dense forest. The path could not be properly seen because of the darkness. So more in prudence than in fear he climbed up a tall tree and passed the remainder of the night in fitful slumber. When day broke he was again on his

legs walking rapidly through the forest. At last he came out to an open field and paused a while to consider what direction he should take. Suddenly his attention was drawn to the sight of two buffaloes charging each other with lowered heads. This went on over and over again till he was thoroughly convinced that they were really fighting.

What was he to do? He knew full well what he did on the last occasion and how badly it ended for him. So he at once decided to act on the farewell advice given by the owner of the hut he last visited. When the buffaloes separated once again before charging each other he rushed in between them. Flinging wide apart his arms in opposite directions he shouted to them to stop and not to lose their temper over a trifling affair. But the maddened beasts took no notice of his antics. They came on with the fury of a tornado, and just met at the place where our hero was standing. The result was disastrous. His body was crushed and the weary soul, shuffling off its mortal coil, joyously soared away to that realm in which the *nats* have their uninterrupted bliss.

SAN SHWE BU.

BURMESE PROSE STYLE.

By J. A. STEWART.

"The style of the Hluttaw records reminds one of the Chinese classical writings. All superfluous words, like verbal affixes, prepositions, etc., are carefully eliminated, and the expressions become mere aggregations of agglutinative roots whose exact meaning has to be inferred from their position in the sentence as well as from the context. Though the syntax may appear to be crude and primitive, there is a great economy of words and of time, and the cadence and rhythm of each sentence and of each document, as a whole, are admirable. In fact, these State records, because of their conciseness, terseness, and resonant phraseology, may be said to be written in poetic prose, and they serve as the best models of Burmese style and composition."

The above passage appears in the introduction to the 1914 edition of the Hluttaw Records. The contents of the book are :—

- Chapter I Edicts.
- Chapter II Laws and Regulations etc.
- Chapter III Contracts, leases and licenses.
- Chapter IV Civil Proceedings.
- Chapter V Criminal Proceedings.
- Chapter VI Letters from the Hluttaw to the provincial officials etc.
- Chapter VII Letters from the provincial officials etc. to the Hluttaw.
- Chapter VIII Papers relating to the Shan States.
- Chapter IX Ecclesiastical Papers.
- Chapter X Memoranda and Instructions.

Obviously the passage quoted cannot in its entirety apply to Chapters II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII or X. Many of the orders, reports and in particular the records of evidence display economy of words; but this, and possibly clarity, are, from the nature of the subjects, all that can be claimed for them. As samples of poetic prose or as models of a good literary style they may be at once discounted.

For some of the Royal edicts the claim of resonant phraseology may be admitted. So far, however, from showing economy of words, they are redundant and diffuse. As models of style for general imitation their use is extremely limited. Possibly government, having occasion to issue a grandiose proclamation, or a circus manager announcing the advent of his world-famed equestrian and acrobatic troupes, might derive from them useful hints in flamboyancy. But the style is inflexible. Old formulae are repeated which had appeared in royal proclamations for centuries. The framework is traditional and restrictive: and the most one could accomplish who should try to cast his thoughts in the shape of a royal order would be the expression of a few platitudes in very full-throated language. The

form does not permit any refinement between a definite statement and a denial, or any divagations to reconsider a question in more than one aspect.

Take as an example King Thibaw's order announcing the promotion of the Yenangyaung Mingyi and others - page 10.

ခမည်းတော်ပဉ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင် မင်းတရားကြီးဘုရားမကျန်းမမာ။ဝေဒနာစွဲရောက်တော်မူသည့် နေ့ကစ၍။နတ်ပြည်စံတော်မူပြီးနောက်။ ခမည်းတော်ဘုရားအရိုက်အရာတော်ဖြစ်သော။ ရွှေထီးရွှေနန်းတို့ သိမ်းမြန်းစိုးစံတော်မူသည့်တိုင်အတွင်း။ဍုၚဂြိုဟ်ခဲခက်သည့်အကြံအစည်အရေးအရာများကို ညှိနှိုင်းတိုင်ပင် စီရင်ဆောင်ရွက်သည့် မှူးတော်မတ်တော်တို့မှာ။ ခမည်းတော် ပဉ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင်မင်းတရားကြီးဘုရား ကျေးဇူးသစ္စာတော်။ငါအသျှင်ကေရာဇ်မင်းမြတ် ကျေးဇူးသစ္စာတော် ၂ ပါးကို။စောင့်သိရှိသေစွာ။တိုင်းနေ ပြည်သူ။ ရှင်လူအပေါင်းတို့။ငြိမ်ဝပ်ချမ်းသာကြောင်း။ သာသနာတော် မဆုတ်မယုတ်။ တိုးတက်စည်ပင်ပွင့်လင်းကြောင်း။ ငါအသျှင်ကေရာဇ်မင်းမြတ်မှစ၍။ သားတော်အစဉ်။မြေးတော်အဆက်။ မြစ်တော်အညွှန်း။ အခွန်မြင့်ရှည်။ တိုင်းပွင့်နိုင်ငံ သာယာဝပြောစွာ။ တနေ့တခြား။ တိုးပွားကြီးကျယ်ဖိုးခိုင်ကြောင်းများကို။ ကြံစည်အားထုတ်။ဆင့်ဆိုစီရင်ထမ်းဆောင်ကြသူများဖြစ်၍။ရှေးဘေးလောင်းတော်။ ဘိုးလောင်းတော်တိုး ရွှေထီးရွှေနန်း တက်သိမ်း စံပယ်တော်မူလျှင်။ အမှုတော်ကိုကောင်းမွန်စွာထမ်းရွက်သည့်ရဘော်ကျွန်တော် မျိုးတို့ကို။ အထူး ဆုသနားတော်မူမြဲဖြစ်သည်နှင့်အညီ။ အမှုတော်ကို။ မသွေမအည်။ ဖြောင့်ဖြောင့် ရိုးရိုး။ ကြိုးပမ်း အားထုတ်။ ထမ်းဆောင်သည့်အဖြစ် ထင်ရှားအောင်။ ထမ်းရည် ရွက်ရည် အင်ကိုထောက်၍။ ချီးမြှောက်သူကောင်း ပြုတော်မူသင့်သည့်အတိုင်း။

Of this passage it is not true

That all superfluous words, like verbal affixes and prepositions, are carefully eliminated.

That the expressions become mere aggregations of agglutinative roots whose meaning has to be inferred from their position in the sentence as well as from the context, or

That there is in the style any of that severity which the comparison with the apparently rather crabbed style of the Chinese classics would imply.

On the contrary particles are effectively used to make the grammar and syntax perfectly clear as you read and so far from displaying severity or economy of words, the passage is deliberately diffuse and appropriately flamboyant.

As a contrast may be quoted the record of the examination of an accused person in a criminal case-page 146.

ရွှေလောင်းကြီးပွဲနင်းဟောင်း ငဉ္စ၊ချက်။ကျွန်တော်ရွှေလောင်းကြီးအရပ်ကိုမောင်းတီး၍။ လူမစုမရုံး တုတ်ထားလက်နက်စွဲကိုင်၍။ ငဘိုးဝန့်ငှဲ။ သား သမက် ဆွေမျိုးလှေသားလူတရာကျော်။ ငဘိုးကာကို။ဝန်းပိုင်းဆိုစကားသည်။ ကျွန်တော်မယ်။ ကျွန်တော်မှာ ၎င်းအချင်း ဖြစ်ဆိုသည့်နေ့။ ခယ်မ မိရှင် သေဆုံးသပြီဟုရာ။ ငဘိုးကာ။ ခမက် ငဘိုး။ မြို့စာရေးဟောင်း ငဘိုးမောင်တို့နှင့် အတူ။ သပြီဟုရှက်ဆောင်နေသည်ကို။ အလွကပ္ပဆရာတော်အသိဖြစ်ပါသည်။

The following is a report made by the Wuntho Sawbwa-(p. 181)

ဘုရားကျွန်တော်။ဝန်းသိုးစော်ဘွား မောရိယမဟာဝံသသိရိဓမ္မရာဇာ။ ရှိခိုးအစီရင်တော်ခံပါသည်။ ဘုရား။ ဝန်သိမြို့ဘွားစု ကျေးရွာများမှာ။ အထက်အာသိုးကောင်းဝန်ဘွားစားစဉ်။ဆင်းသားရဲတို့ လုပ်ကိုင် စားသောက်နေတိုင်နိုင်အောင်။ ဘွားစုအတွင်း ဆည် မြောင်း ကန် ချောင်း တူးဖောက်။ မိုဃ်းရေဖြောင့်မှန် လယ်ယာလုပ်ကိုင်။ ကြွင်းကျန်သည့်ဘောစိမ့်မြေလတ်များကို။ထပ်မံ ဆည် မြောင်း တူးဖောက်ပြုစု သွတ်သွင်း။ဆင်းရဲသားတို့လယ်ယာလုပ်ဆောင်။ မြို့ကျေးရွာ သာယာငြိမ်ဝပ်။သူခိုးထားပြုစု ခိုးယူတိုက်ခိုက် မရှိ

အောင်။ သွားစုကျေးရွာပေါ်မြင်း။ ထမုံ။ သူကြီးတို့ကို။ ကြပ်ကြပ်တည် တည်းဆင့်ဆို။ နေ့ ညမပြတ် ကင်း
ဝပ်ကင်းပတ် စည်းကြပ်စောင့် ထိန်းစေ၍။ သူခိုးထားပြီ ခိုးယူတိုက်ခိုက်မရှိ။ ဆင်းရဲသားတို့။ သာယာစွာကူး
သန်းသွားလာ လယ်ယာလုပ်ဆောင်။ လူနေအိမ်ခြေ စည်ပင်သယံ ဂြိုဟ်ကြောင်း။ ရှိခိုးအစီရင်တော်ခံပါ
သည့်ဘုရား။

The style of these two documents certainly displays compression ; and aimed possibly at economy of stationery. They might be commended to anyone desiring a model for the composition of Burmese telegrams but cannot seriously be taken as models for poetic—or un-poetic—prose.

It is not proposed to quote further from the Hluttaw Records. They contain, as we have seen, documents in two distinct styles. The legal enactments and contracts are, perhaps, in a style of their own—less rhetorical than the edicts and less staccato than most of the other extracts. They probably owe something to English influence from Lower Burma and the merits of their style may be left to the judgement of conveyancers and such.

Mr Taw Sein Ko's pronouncement has been examined at some length because it is one of the few pieces of Burmese literary criticism accessible and because it appears in a book of which many people read the preface. Misdescription of the contents of the book is a minor fault. Mr. Taw Sein Ko seems to set up a foreign and imported ideal of style which is alien to the genius of the people and of the language. The tendency of Burmese oratory is towards verbosity and exuberance. Brevity is not the soul of Burmese wit : it is not epigrammatic, but piles extravagance on extravagance till an edifice of absurdity has been reared. It were strange if among such a people the literary ideal should be so utterly at variance with habits of speech and of thought.

The charm of good Burmese prose is surely its unaffected ease as if style were the last thing the author thought of. But it has the great advantage over prose composition in most other languages, that it need not be strictly pedestrian, in elevated passages it can draw on the vocabulary and even the form of poetry, it can rise and fall according to the subject, it can glide into verse imperceptibly. Petronius describes the desertion of friend by friend in prose : "Egreditur superbus cum praemio Ascyllus et paulo ante carissimum sibi commilitonem fortunaque etiam similitudine parem in loco peregrino destituit abiectum." This is followed by general reflections on the falseness of friends—in verse,

Nomen amicitiae sic, quatenus expedit, haeret ;

Calculus in tabula mobile ducit opus.

Cum fortuna manet, vultum servatis amici,

Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fuga.

In good Burmese prose the style would gradually swell from narrative to reflection, rhyme and perhaps metre would be introduced so as to increase the emotional effect, but there would be no sudden and noticeable cleavage.

We are not concerned at present with the origin and development of this style—it is an inevitable and felicitous result of the abundance of rhymes in the Burmese language. A very slight elevation of sentiment seems to demand rhymes. Thus in the first of the two following passages, Prince Eindawuntha orders out his scouts in prose and the scouts call to the other army in verse. In the second passage the arrival of the Thingaza Sayadaw at Moulmein is narrated in prose but the style swells into verse when the arrangements for his reception are described.

(၁) တို့တော်တော်ဦးဝယ် များပြားသောစစ်သည်နှင့်၊ အလံခနစ်စင်းကိုမြင်သည်။ အလံကျားဖြစ်၍၊ မင်းခနစ်ပါးနှင့် တူသည်။ တပ်အားကြီးလှသည်။ ကင်းတပ်ကိုလွှတ်၍၊ မြင်းသည်တော်ထောက်။ ။ ဟေ့ကွယ်ရို့။ ဆင်မြင်းခိုလ်ပါ။ များမြောင်စွာနှင့်၊ ဘယ်ရွာဘယ်ပြည်။ ဘယ်ဌာနီက။ စစ်သည်များတုံးကွယ်ယို့။

(၂) ထိုအခါမော်လမြိုင်မြို့ရှိ ဒါယကာတို့လည်း၊ ဝမ်းမြောက် ငမ်းသာ သင်္ကဏဆရာတော်ကြီးနှင့် တကွ။ မန္တလေးမြို့တော်မှ ကြွလာရောက်ရှိကုန်သော ဆရာတော်များ။ ထိုပြင်ထိုမြို့ရှိ အချို့ကုန်သော ဆရာတော် သင်္ကဏတော်များပါ လျှောက်ပင့်၍၊ ဇာတိဖွဲ့လ်ခေါ်သော ကျောင်းအရာခံတွင်း သန့်ရှင်းလျောက်ပတ်သော စရပ်ကြီးတဆောင်တွင်၊ တောဇဉ်ခဲဘွယ်။ အသွယ်သွယ်တို့ကို တင့်တယ်ကောင်းလွန်။ မွန်မြတ်စွာပင်။ ပြုပြင်လုပ်ကျွေးသဖြင့်၊ ဘုဉ်းပေးသုံးဆောင်တော်မူကြပြီးခါ။ သင်္ကဏဆရာတော် ဘုရားကြီးလည်း။ အဝေးအနီး။ အသီးသီးရောက်ရှိကုန်သော ပရိသတ်တို့အား၊ အလျှောက်အထား။ စကားလက်ခံလျက် ချေငံသာယာ။ ကောင်းစွာဟောတော်မူသတည်း။

The edicts verge on this semi-poetical style. Rhymes are used, though perhaps for decorative rather than emotional effect. Whether these edicts are the best models of poetic prose—it seems highly unlikely—is a matter about which various opinions may be held. They are good in their kind and Mr. Taw Sein Ko's selection was no doubt judicious.

But for once that it is permissible to use the poetic prose style, there are a hundred occasions when a less pretentious medium is required. Plain language is the best for plain narrative and for argument—with just a rhyme or so at the culmination, as alliteration might be used in English. Note the force of the rhyme at the end of the following passage.

ထိုမျောက်ခင်းကို အကြောင်းထောက်တော်မူ၍ သာသနာဒါယကာတော် မဟာဓမ္မရာဇ်မင်းမြတ်သည်။ သုံးဆယ်ခုနစ်ပါးသော အလောင်းတကာတို့ ပွင့်ရာဖြစ်သော ဗောဓိပက္ခိယ တရားကို အလိုရှိ၍ အံ့ဘွယ်သရဲသော သူမခံနိုင်သောသည်းကို ခံရသည်ရှိသော်၊ သမ္ဗုဒ္ဓတဉာဏ်အတွင်းသို့ မချွတ်မလွှဲ ပြည့်တော်မူမည်။ This is from the Hmannan History (II 388) from which many passages of noble prose could be culled. But the plain language of the Hluttaw Records—and it is not so agglutinatively ambiguous as Mr. Taw Sein Ko would imply—has not the easy flow of the Hmannan or of a Jātaka. A document like the *ex-penin's* examination quoted above may be good officialese but it has as much melody as a solo on the big drum. Burmans very wisely leave the Hluttaw Records alone, but their effect on the non-Burman student of the language is not only that he leaves them unread but that he is set against Burmese prose literature in general.

Now there are books which one can enjoy reading without being certain whether the style should be considered good or bad. But if a select list could be prepared including Burmese prose works which are written

in good style and which are enjoyable to read, one would have an added pleasure in analysing the style and discovering in detail the merits which had already been generally vouched for. History, memoirs, fiction—the subject matters little provided it be made interesting. What students want is to be given the names of a few readable books and an assurance that the study of them is not time wasted. Had such a list been available, many Englishmen who have no interest in Burmese prose would have been able not only to appreciate but to write it with some facility. This at any rate is the opinion of one who has tardily revolted against a false ideal.

J. A. STEWART.

Since writing the above, I have discovered in another work of Mr. Taw Sein Ko what may be called a parallel passage. "At the present time, there are two kinds of Burmese. One may be called Lower-Burma Burmese, and the other Upper-Burma Burmese. The Burmese of Lower Burma, in some places, would be something like the French *patois* in Jersey and the Channel Islands: it is corrupt, and is almost a jargon. The pure Burmese is still preserved in Upper Burma in the larger towns. The chief characteristics of Upper Burmese style are its conciseness, the absence of dispensable particles and affixes, and its comprehensive expressiveness, grace, energy, and elegance. The Lower Burmese style is very diffuse: it abounds in useless particles, and differs from the other style in its labour-simplicity and want of brevity. Anyone with a tolerably good knowledge of Burmese can readily distinguish the marked difference between the two styles." ("Elementary Handbook of the Burmese Language:" Rangoon, 1913.)

We now know the qualities of style which Mr. Taw Sein Ko admires. Though they are not to be found in the Hluttaw Records there is perhaps still a hope of finding them in Mandalay.

J. A. S.

THE FATE OF SHAH SHUJA 1661.

By G. E. HARVEY.

When in 1660 Sha Shuja was defeated by Mir Jumla, Aurungzeb's general, he fled to Arakan and was received at the Naaf by an Arakanese officer who assured him of protection. At some distance from Arakan he and his party were met by an escort and conducted to the houses prepared for them. For some time the refugees were well treated but the king's conduct suddenly changed and he sent demanding one of the unfortunate exile's daughters in marriage adding that if he refused he must quit Arakan. Sha Shuja haughtily refused to give his daughter to an idolater and said that as soon as the monsoon changed and a ship could be got he would go. He was ordered to go at once but before he could comply was attacked: he himself was drowned and the ladies of his household were seized and carried to the capital. The daughter whose beauty had excited the lust of the Arakanese monarch stabbed herself in his presence, two others poisoned themselves and the youngest was forcibly married to the king but soon died: his two sons were subsequently drowned' (Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, Rangoon 1880, vol. I p. 293).

'Shah Shuja was defeated by Mir Jumla, the general of Aurungzebe. Despairing of mercy from his brother, he sent his son to demand an asylum from the king of Arakan, and permission to embark for Mecca. The reply was satisfactory, and the prince with his retinue, together with his wife, sons, and three daughters, proceeded from Dacca to a port on the river Megna, where they embarked in galleys. As it was the season of the boisterous south-west monsoon, the galleys could not leave the river, and fearful of being taken prisoners, the whole party landed in what was then the territory of Tippera, and proceeded by land to Chittagaon. From thence they travelled, through a difficult country to the Naaf river; crossing which, they entered Arakan, and arrived at the capital about the end of the year 1660. The prince was well received. He was anxious to leave for Mecca, but Mir Jumla sent emissaries, who offered large sums if the fugitive were delivered up. The king, desirous no doubt to have a specious cause of quarrel, basely required the prince to give him in marriage one of his daughters. This demand was indignantly refused, and the king openly shewed his resentment. Shah Shuja foreseeing that force would be used, endeavoured to excite a rising in his favour among the Muhammadan population of the country. He made an attempt with his followers to seize the palace, which failed. He was then attacked by the king's soldiers at his residence, and fled to the hills, but was taken prisoner, and forthwith put into a sack and drowned. His sons were put to death, and his wife and two of his daughters committed suicide. The remaining daughter was brought into the palace, where from grief she died an early death' (Phayre, *History of Burma*, Trubner & Co., London 1883, pp. 178-9).

'The earliest independent account of Shah Shujah's participation in the bloody wars of the Moghul succession and of his subsequent fate, as well as that of his family, is to be found in Bernier's "Travels in the Moghul Empire." The author was actually present in India at the time at which these stirring events happened. In spite of the peculiar facilities he had of obtaining first-hand information on the subject he tells us that he is not at all sure of his facts since he heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the Prince, from those even who were on the spot. However, after carefully sifting all the available information he arrived at the correct conclusion that the Prince, with his family and retainers, went to Arakan where they were very handsomely received by King Sanda-thudhamnia-raza,

His eldest daughter Chand Bibi, as the Arakanese called her, was given in marriage to the king. Then after a time, being involved in an unsuccessful rebellion Shujah fled to the hills. But he was quickly captured and put to death. His two sons were decapitated and the female members of the family were shut in a room and left to die of hunger. Such is substantially Bernier's account; but at the same time he is cautious enough to add that in respect of certain particulars he had heard a thousand different tales.

To this story it is evident that Phayre has added a little more of his own in order to reconcile the belief which most European writers shared concerning Eastern potentates who were always looked upon as despotic, cruel and barbarous. He brings in the story of Shujah wanting to go to Mecca (where he got this from I am unable to say)—the King's refusal—the demand for the hand of one of Shujah's daughters—her forcible admission into the palace seraglio—her subsequent death by grief—acts of *felo de se* by her two sisters, are all related with an air of reality calculated to bring out in bold relief the excessive tyranny and cruelty of Eastern Kings.

But though Bernier and Phayre have given some sort of justification for the so-called cruel conduct of the Arakanese king, Spearman has thought fit to omit it altogether in order, no doubt, to enhance the enormity of the king's conduct. He said that when Shujah refused to give his daughter in marriage to King Sanda-thudhamma-raza he was told to quit Arakan. But before preparations could be completed he was seized and drowned . . .

Of the three accounts it is needless to say that Bernier's approaches nearest the truth, at least, nearest to that which is related by the Arakanese historians who are in complete accord on this subject. This is their story: "Some time in the month of September 1660 Shah Shujah, together with his family and retainers, were conveyed to the Arakanese Capital Mrauk-u (present Myohaung) in galleys manned by the Portuguese who were then subjects of the king of Arakan, Sanda-thudhamma-raza of revered memory. The refugees were well received and the prince and his family were treated with all the honours due to princes of the royal blood. Shujah then explained his plight and asked for assistance. To this the king readily agreed for he sent to Bengal a large army with the greater portion of his fleet. Meanwhile, to seal the friendly relations existing between them Shujah gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the king who celebrated the event in song and verse which, at the present day, are among the most beautiful poetical compositions to be found in the whole range of Arakanese literature.

In Bengal the Arakanese army, surprised in a night attack, were completely defeated by the forces under Mir Jumla. . . . Shujah was in despair for he now saw that his chance of ever winning the Moghul throne was at an end. But that philosophic calm which ever stood his brother Dara in good stead in the face of overwhelming reverses was never a part of Shujah's mental possessions. In a short time he conceived the idea of deposing the king his benefactor and ascending the throne of Arakan. There were numerous Mahomedans settled in the country. He practically won over all these to his cause. Preparations for a general rebellion were pushed on with feverish haste. But alas! in February 1661, the plot leaked out and Shujah and his party sought safety in flight to the hills of Northern Arakan.

King Sanda-thudhamma-raza was more or less stunned when he heard of this colossal act of perfidy and ingratitude. The fugitives were speedily followed and were brought before the royal presence. For a time the King looked sad; but a revulsion of feeling having set in he forthwith commanded that Shujah, his sons and principal officers of his retinue should be put to death. This was carried out with the approval of his ministers who urged

that if the culprits were allowed to live there would be no peace in the country. Shujah's wife and two remaining daughters were spared and were permitted to reside with the princess he had married. The rest of the followers of the ungrateful Shujah were spared their lives for it was contended that they, as servants, merely obeyed the orders of their Master. They were then organised into a separate corps of archers and were thenceforth known to the Arakanese as "Kamans." Their duty was to defend the palace or to form the bodyguard of the king wherever he set out.

For the space of about two years after these events, the affairs in Arakan pursued their tranquil course. But in the year 1663 A. D. the followers of Shujah became restive once again. Either from greed of gain or to avenge the supposed wrongs of their defunct master they one night set fire to the palace. In the general confusion Manaw-thiri, the Governor of Mrauk-u, was burnt to death and the king and his family barely escaped with their lives. Their crowning act of treachery very rightly destroyed the remaining faith the king had in all those connected with the Indian prince. In his righteous indignation he first caused the arrest and execution of his Moghul archers. Then he ordered the death of Shujah's wife and daughters, not even excepting his own wife who was then in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the reason for this cruel command being based on the fact that it was considered neither fair nor expedient that such ungrateful people should be allowed to dwell in the society of loyal and honest subjects of the realm.

King Sanda-thudhamma-raza was one of the most enlightened of Arakanese kings of the Mrauk-u dynasty' (Mg. San Shwe Bu, Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan, at p. 37 of the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, for 1921).

Quite apart from the fact that Phayre had a conscience, he had no need to blacken king Sanda-thudhamma-raza in order "to bring out in bold relief the excessive tyranny and cruelty of Eastern Kings," for whether it was king Sanda-thudhamma-raza, as Spearman and Phayre say, or Shah Shuja, as Mg. San Shwe Bu says, who behaved badly, in either case it was an eastern king who behaved badly.

Mg. San Shwe Bu wonders where Phayre got the story about Shah Shuja wanting to go to Mecca: he got it from Mg. San Shwe Bu's own authority, Bernier. Bernier does not say that Shah Shuja "gave" his daughter in marriage to king Sanda-thudhamma-raza: he says the opposite. He says he heard three or four different accounts, even from those who were on the spot, of the manner of Shah Shuja's actual death; but he does not say that he heard different accounts of the events leading up to the death. He had no doubt whatever as to king Sanda-thudhamma-raza's behaviour, which was notorious. Bowrey and Hamilton repeat what was common talk in the ports of the Far East; I quote them at the end of this article.

Bernier gives what is doubtless the earliest connected account of Shah Shuja's end. But earlier references are scattered through the correspondence files of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia for the year 1661 (see "Dagh Register gehouden in te Casteel Batavia 1661" edited by J. A. van der Chijs, publ. Nijhoff, 's Hage 1889, British Museum Ac. 975.12, India Office 7-1-29). These references do not describe the course of the quarrel between Shah Shuja and king Sanda-thudhamma-raza but merely say (p. 56) that Shuja arrived in Arakan on 26 August 1660.

and (p. 115) on 7 February 1661 when his house was surrounded he set fire to it and made off with three hundred followers, but his eldest and youngest sons were captured. Finally (p. 520) "The truth is, however, although there is no certainty, that he was killed in the first outbreak, but his corpse was rendered unrecognisable by the nobles who wished to make tway with his valuable jewels. His three sons, together with his women and daughters, have been seized. The women and daughters are placed in the palace, and the sons, after a time in prison, have been removed to a small house. Daily is the gold and silver that the Arakanese have seized being melted down and brought into the king's treasury." Mir Jumla sent an envoy demanding the surrender of Shah Shuja's sons, and he brought, to bribe the court, a large sum, apparently Rs. 12,000.

Picturesque detail, such as the actual words used by Shah Shuja and the princess stabbing herself, dashing out her brains against a stone sooner than marry king Sanda-thudhamma-raza, occur in some of the rhetorical lucubrations which flooded the XVIIIth century. One of these [Lt. Col. Alexander Dow "History of Hindostan," publ. Becket & De Hondt, London 1772] (India Office 44. M. 14), by a writer who usually based himself on Persian sources, is included in the editorial appendices to some of the obsolete editions of Bernier which Spearman and Phayre used. The authority of such accounts is so doubtful that I do not reproduce them here.

Below are extracts. Bernier, a French physician, was in India 1658-67 and served a rival of Shah Shuja's. Manucci, a Venetian gunner, was in India 1656-1712 and even later; the relevant portion of his book was not written in its present form till 1699-1700 but he was serving a rival Moghul at the time of Shah Shuja's death. Bowrey, a sailing master, was in the Far East 1669-79, and Hamilton, was a sea captain there 1688-1723; these are inferior authorities.

Bernier's Account--The Prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly for refuge, sent his eldest son Sultan Banque, to the King of Racan, or Mog, a Gentile or idolater, to ascertain if he would grant him a temporary asylum, and a passage to Meca, when the favourable season arrived; it being his wish to proceed thence to Meca, and afterward take up his residence in Turkey or Persia. The King's answer was in the affirmative, and expressed in the kindest terms. Sultan Banque returned to Dake [Dacca] with a large number of galeasses (as they call the half galleys of this King) manned by Franks, for so I would designate those fugitive Portuguese, and other wandering Christians, who had entered the King's service, and whose chief occupation was to ravage this part of Bengal. On board these vessels, Sultan Sujah embarked with his family, consisting of his wife, his three sons and his daughters. The King of Arakan gave them a tolerable reception, and supplied them with every necessary of life. Month after month passed; the favourable season arrived, but no mention was made of vessels to convey them to Moka, although Sultan Sujah required them on no other terms than the payment of the hire; for he yet wanted not roupies of gold and silver, or gems. He had indeed too great a plenty of them; his great wealth being probably the cause of, or at least very much contributing to, his ruin. These barbarous kings are devoid of true generosity, and little restrained by any promises which they have made. Seldom guided by considerations of good

faith, their present interest is the sole guide of their conduct, and they appear insensible of the mischief which may accrue to themselves from their perfidiousness and cruelty. To escape out of their hands, either you must have nothing to tempt their avarice, or you must be possessed of superior strength. It was in vain that Sultan Sujah evinced the utmost solicitude to depart for Moka; the King turned a deaf ear to his entreaties; became cool and uncivil, and reproached the Prince for not visiting him. I know not whether Sultan Sujah considered it beneath his dignity to associate with him, or whether he apprehended that his person would be seized, and his treasure plundered, if he ventured into the palace. Emir Jemla had offered the King, in the name of Aureng Zebe, large sums of money, and other considerable advantages, on condition of his delivering up the Prince. Though Sultan Sujah would not of himself venture into the royal residence yet he sent his son, Sultan Banque, who, as he approached the palace, bestowed largesse to the people, throwing among them half roupies, and also whole roupies, both of gold and silver; and when he came before the King, presented him with various rich brocades and rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value; and apologising for the unavoidable absence of his father, who was indisposed, entreated the King to remember the vessel and the promise which he had made.

This visit proved as unavailing as every preceding effort to induce the barbarian to fulfil his engagements; and to add to the mortification and perplexity of the illustrious fugitive, the King, five or six days after this interview, made a formal demand of one of his daughters in marriage. Sultan Sujah's refusal to accede to this request exasperated him to such a degree that the Prince's situation became quite desperate. What then ought he to do? To remain inactive was only quietly to await destruction. The season for departure was passing away; it was therefore necessary to come to a decision of some kind. He meditated, at length, an enterprise which never was exceeded in extravagance, and which proves the hopelessness of the situation to which he was reduced.

Although the King of Rakan be a Gentile, yet there are many Mahomedans mixed with the people, who have either chosen to retire among them, or have been enslaved by the Portuguese before mentioned, in their expeditions to the neighbouring coasts. Sultan Sujah secretly gained over Mahomedans, whom he joined with two or three hundred of his own people, the remnant of those who followed him from Bengal; and with this force resolved to surprise the house of the King, put his family to the sword, and make himself sovereign of the country. This bold attempt, which resembled more the enterprise of a desperado than that of a prudent man, had nevertheless a certain feasibility in it, as I was informed by several Mahomedans, Portuguese, and Hollanders, who were then on the spot. But the day before the blow was to be struck, a discovery was made of the design, which altogether ruined the affairs of Sultan Sujah, and involved in it the destruction of his family.

The Prince endeavoured to escape into Pegu; a purpose scarcely possible to be effected by reason of the vast mountains and forests that lay in the route; for there is not now, as formerly, a regular road in that direction. He was pursued and overtaken, within twenty-four hours after his flight: he defended himself with an obstinacy of courage such as might have been expected, and the number of barbarians that fell under his sword was incredible; but at length, overpowered by the increasing host of his assailants, he was compelled to give up the unequal combat. Sultan Banque, who had not advanced so far as his father, fought also like a lion, until covered with the blood of the wounds he received from the stones that had been showered on him from all sides, he was seized, and carried away, with his two young brothers, his sisters, and his mother.

No other particulars, on which dependence may be placed, are known of Sultan Sujah. It is said that he reached the hills, accompanied by an eunuch, a woman, and two other persons; that he received a wound on the head from a stone, which brought him to the ground; that the eunuch having bound up the Prince's head with his own turban he rose again, and escaped into the woods.

I have heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the Prince, from those even who were on the spot. Some assured me that he was found among the slain, though it was difficult to recognise his body; and I have seen a letter from a person at the head of the Factory which the Hollanders maintain in that region, mentioning the same thing. Great uncertainty prevails, however, upon the subject, which is the reason why we have had so many alarming rumours at Delhi. It was reported at one time, that he was arrived at Massipatam . . . at another period, that he had passed within sight of Sourate . . . again, that the Prince was in Persia . . . But in my opinion there never existed ground for any of these reports. I attach great importance to the letter from the Dutch gentleman, which states that that the Prince was killed in his attempt to escape; and one of Sultan Sujah's eunuchs, with whom I travelled from Bengal to Massipatam, and his former commandant of artillery, now in the service of the King of Golonda, both assured me that their master was dead . . . It seems also that his sword and dagger were found soon after his defeat; and if he reached the woods, as some people pretend, it can scarcely be hoped that he escaped; as it was probable he must have fallen into the hands of robbers, or have become a prey to the tigers or elephants which very greatly infest the forests of that country.

But whatever doubts may be entertained of the fate of Sultan Sujah, there are none as to the catastrophe which befell his family. When brought back, men, women, and children were all thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost harshness. Some time after, however, they were set at liberty, and used more kindly: the King then married the eldest Princess, and the Queen-mother evinced a strong desire to be united to Sultan Banque.

While these events were happening, some servants of Sultan Banque joined the Mahometans, of whom I have spoken, in a plot similar to the last. The indiscreet zeal of one of the conspirators, who was probably heated with wine, led to the discovery of the design on the day on which it was to be executed. In regard to this affair, too, I have heard a thousand different tales; and the only fact I can relate with confidence is, that the King felt so exasperated against the family of Sujah as to give orders for its total extermination. Even the Princess whom he had himself espoused, and who, it is said, was advanced in pregnancy, was sacrificed according to his brutal mandate. Sultan Banque and his brothers were decapitated with gruesome-looking axes, quite blunt, and the female members of this ill-fated family were closely confined in their apartments, and left to die of hunger.' (Bernier "*Travels in the Moghul Empire*", edited by Constable and Vincent Smith, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. 109-15)

Manucci's Account—'With the reinforcements sent by Aurangzeb, and the assistance given by the petty rajahs and the governors, Mir Jumlah attacked Shah Shujah with such violence that he was reduced to the last stage of desperation . . . He therefore resolved to send his son, Sultan Bang, to the King of Arracao [Arakan], a heathen, otherwise known as Mogo [Magh], beseeching him most earnestly to afford aid in his distress; if he did not agree to that, would he, at the least, consent to receive him and his men within his territory until the season came for a voyage to Persia or to Mouca [Mecca]? When fortune should again be kind to him, he would hereafter recompense him for this favour. The King of Arakan received the prince

Sultan Bang with much courtesy and kindness, and after a few days sent him back to his father with a number of boats called *jalias*, which are small galleys commanded by Portuguese subjects of the said King of Arakan, inhabitants of Chatigao [Chittagong] on the frontier of that Kingdom . . . Prince Shah Shujah took ship at the city of Dacca [Dacca], which is on the boundary of Bengal, on the bank of a very large river. But there was much confusion and great hurry, caused by the necessity under which he lay. For Mir Jumlah did all that was possible to seize him. In these straits the women, who, according to custom, ought not to allow themselves to be seen in public, so as not to seem immodest or to be considered polluted, sat there in the view of everybody. Being a new thing this raised great compassion in the beholders, and caused much sorrow to the prince. In one boat were two hundred and fifty ladies, the most lovely in his harem, mingled with soldiers and boatmen. In desperation he ordered the boat to be sunk, as was done, without reflecting on the people in it, or the treasure loaded in it, or the rich jewels the ladies were wearing. Another mishap overtook the prince. This was that the boat commanded by Manoel Coelho, containing the larger part and the most exquisite of his treasures, went ashore on the coast of Arakan and became a total loss. Old Manoel Coelho did this on purpose, and thieved everything. After all these afflictions, and various others encountered by this unfortunate prince in his flight, they arrived in the kingdom of Arakan where they were well received by the Magh king, with many demonstrations of affection . . . Some days after the arrival of Prince Shah Shujah in the kingdom of Arakan, where he had been conducted with much honour, in conformity with the customs of those kings, to a palace outside the city, he was invited by the king to sit with him. But the prince, although a fugitive and in necessity, would not forsake his dignity, holding himself to be a much greater man than the King of Arakan. The latter could not compare in dignity, refinement, or pleasant habits with even a simple captain among the Moguls. Not liking to go and sit with him, Shah Shujah sent his son, Sultan Bang, with the excuse that he himself was unwell. The Magh was delighted at the coming of Sultan Bang, expecting he would offer him many jewels, stones of price, and costly pieces of cloth.

When they had taken their seats, there appeared many dishes of food, among them a long basin of raw buffalo blood, a great delicacy with them. At this the prince was much revolted, and held his nostrils. The king had it placed in front of himself, and collected with his hands what was in the basin and ate it with great relish, licking his lips.

The temerity of the king arrived at such a pitch that he asked for a daughter of Shah Shujah as wife for his own son. The prince Shah Shujah awaited nothing but the monsoon season to make a start for Persia or Mecca. Its arrival was delayed, and he began to be irritated at the coarseness of the Arakan king, and his overweening conceit in asking for his [Shah Shujah's] daughter as wife to his son. He was afraid of some act of violence or insolence. His force of armed men was very small, but he found many dwellers in Arakan, Moguls and Pathans, who shewed themselves well inclined towards him. He therefore planned an outbreak, intending to slay the king and take the kingdom, and then advance once more to test his fortune in Bengal, having thus previously made sure of a refuge in case of failure.

He confided this design to some of his people, by whom it was approved. But they were not able to carry out the project with the called for secrecy, and through the delay they made there was time for the King of Arakan to hear of the plot. He planned the assassination of Shah Shujah and all his adherents, and to this intent called to him his four principal captains, each of whom had three thousand armed men. On these four men he placed great

reliance. Each captain with his three thousand men guarded the king for eight consecutive days, and when each had fulfilled his task, it came round to the first one again. To these he issued orders that one morning at daybreak they should all with one accord shout 'Long live the King of Arakan! Death to Shah Shujah and all traitors!' Under cover of these they were to kill everyone. The captains carried out the order of their king, killing everybody they encountered. Upon this news reaching the unfortunate prince Shah Shujah, he tried to save his life by getting on his elephant, hoping that he might thereby impose some respect for his person. But it was grievous to see the fury with which the Maghs came on, throwing everything into disorder, with blows and shouts and cries, some saying 'Death to the Prince Shah Shujah!' others, 'Death to his son, Prince Bang!' others 'Slay those traitorous Moguls who fled here from Bengal!' Prince Bang was taken prisoner, while Shah Shujah with a few men fled to the jungle. He made liberal use of his bags of jewels and pearls, which he scattered among these savages, attempting by the use of these valuables to mitigate the rage of the soldiers and gain a free passage for his flight. But the Maghs paid no heed to his proffered wealth; they pursued the poor prince like famishing wolves, cutting his body into pieces, stripping it bare, and plundering all his valuables. . . . Prince Bang remained for some time a prisoner, but afterward he regained his liberty. Owing, however, to his attempting once more some treachery, the Magh ordered his head to be cut off with a hatchet. The women and daughters of Shah Shujah were carried off to the palace of the king. But owing to the distrust aroused there among the other women of the king, he was obliged to expel them, and they moved as castaways from house to house until their miserable lives came to an end' (Manucci "Storia do Mogor", translated by W. Irvine in the Indian Texts Series, four vols., Murray, London 1907, vol. I, pp. 369-76).

Bowrey's Account—'Sultan Sujah (now in adversitie), destitute of ships whereby to transport himselfe, his case being most desperate, not knowing which way lyeth his safety, he sendeth to the Kinge of Arackan, (a neighbouring kingdome) craveinge his assistance and entertainment there, which was readily granted, and not more readily than accepted. The Arackan kinge sends a parcell of gyllyars, vizt., gallies, well fitted and manned with Arackaners and Frangues, who came through the rivers to Dacca, where they received the sultan, his wives and children, etc., necessities, with about 200 of his attendants, great store of treasure, vizt. gold and silver rupees, vast riches in jewels, namely diamonds, rubies, and pearle, which caused a kinder reception than he expected, and soon after destruction, for one year was scarce expired, but the overthrow of the prince (and most of his retinue) was brought to effect.

I have heard it related 2 ways, (as followeth), and I do believe they were both put into execution. The kinge of this countrey, now seemingly the protector of the distressed sultan Sujah, is an idolater, and doth request the sultan's eldest daughter to wife. The sultan layeth the thing plainly downe to him that it is against the laws of God and his prophet Mahomet, he not being a Mussleman, ergo begged of him to desist such his desires; at which the kinge was sorely displeased, and cold not be pacified, but sought the totall destruction of the sultan and all that appertained to him, and to bringe this his malice to perfection himselfe ordered one part of his owne pallace to be set on fire in the night, and, at the uproar thereof, gave it out that sultan Sujah and his retinue had done the fact, thereby to accomplish some great desine he had in swayinge the scepter of this kingdome, which soe incensed the guards and soldiery of the citty that next to squenchinge the fire they endeavour to squench their thirst with the blood of the sultan and those that appertained to

him. The sultan fled toward the mountains, and his small traine with him, but were soe severely pursued that the woody mountains became their sepulchres.

Much flyinge news arrived att Agra and Delly, and most eminent places in the Empire concerning sultan Sujah that it was affirmed 2 or 3 years after his death that he was alive, and wold by the helpe of God and his Prophet, seeke revenge off his brother, Aurenge-Zebe.

But, since it was truly made to appeare that he was so basely murdered in Arackan, Aurenge-Zebe, now the present Emperour, and once the sultan's greatest enemie, seeketh revenge for that innocent blood, and will never, (as himself hath often sworne) be at amitie with the kinge or kingdome of Arackan, (Bowrey "A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal," edited by Sir Richard Temple, Hakluyt Society 1905, pp. 139—42).

Hamilton's Account—'It was into this country [Arakan] that the unfortunate Sultan Sujah came a suppliant for protection when Emirjemaal chased him out of Bengal. He carried his wives and children with him, and about two hundred of his retinue, who were resolved to follow his fortune, and he carried six or eight camels load of gold and jewels which proved his ruin When Sultan Sujah first visited the King of Arackan, he made him presents suitable to the quality of the donor and receiver, the Arackaner promising him all the civilities due to so great a prince, with a safe asylum for himself and family. When Emirjemaal knew where Sultan Sujah had taken sanctuary he sent a letter to the King of Arackan, wherein he demanded the poor distressed prince to be delivered up to him, otherwise he threatened to bring his army into his country to take him by force. The threatening letter wrought so far on the base Arackaner, that he contrived ways and means to pick a quarrel with his guest, to have a pretext to oblige Emirjemaal. At last he found a very fair one.

Sultan Sujah having a very beautiful daughter, the King of Arackan desired her in marriage, but knew well that Sultan Sujah would never consent to the match, he being a Pagan and she a Mahomedan. The father used all reasonable arguments to dissuade the Arackaner from prosecuting his suit, but in vain, for the Arackaner grew daily more pressing, and Sultan Sujah at last gave him a flat denial, on which the base King sent him orders to go out of his dominions in three days, and forbad the markets to furnish him any more with provisions for his money. Sultan Sujah knowing it would be death for him to go back to Bengal, resolved to pass over some mountains overgrown with woods, into the King of Pegu's dominions, which were not above 100 miles off, and so next day after summons, with his family, treasure, and attendants, Sultan Sujah began his march, but the barbarous Arackaner sent a strong party after him, who overtook him before he had advanced far into the woods, and killed most of Sultan Sujah's company, and brought it back in an inglorious triumph. What became of Sultan Sujah and his fair daughter, none could ever give a certain account; whether they were killed in the skirmish or whether they were destroyed by wild elephants and tigers in the woods, none ever knew, but the Arakanese alledge they were destroyed by the wild beasts of the woods, and not by the more savage beasts in human shape. So much treasure never had been seen in Arackan before (Alexander Hamilton "A new account of the East Indies," publ. Mosman, Edinburgh, 1727, Bodleian 8°. F. 256-7. Linc., India Office 44.C.16-17, vol. II p. 27).

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the second meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 17th June 1922.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq.
U May Oung
A. P. Morris, Esq.
U Tun Pe
Maung Ba Kya

A. Rodger, Esq.
L. F. Taylor, Esq.
Mr. A. Cassim
Saya Thein
W. G. Fraser, Esq.,

(Hon. Secy:)

1. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 17th February 1922 were confirmed.
2. With reference to the printing of the first volume of the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin, it was decided to accept the terms offered by the Clarendon Press. The Clarendon Press will account to the Society for all copies sold by it at the rate of $\frac{7}{12}$ of the published price.
3. It was decided to invite Rev. R. Halliday to read his paper on "The Mons in Siam" at a general meeting of the Society to be held on 14th July at 6 p.m. The Honorary Secretary was authorised to inform Mr. Halliday that the Society is prepared to pay his travelling expenses from and to Moulmein and during his stay in Rangoon for two days.
4. A list of 8 Talaing Paklat publications prepared by Mr. Luce on the basis of the Paklat catalogue and the recommendations of Rev. R. Halliday was approved for purchase.
5. Books purchased by Mr. Luce for the Society in Europe were placed on the table for inspection. It was decided that a list of the books and Mr. Luce's report should be published in the Journal.
6. Sanction was given to the purchase of a cupboard for files.
7. A letter dated 27th March from the Secretary of the Association des Amis du Vieux Hué, agreeing to an exchange of publications, was recorded.
8. It was decided to suggest an exchange of publications with the American Oriental Society.
9. Mr. G. H. Luce was appointed Editor of the Journal in place of Mr. L. F. Taylor resigned, with effect from the date of publication of the next issue of the Journal. A vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Taylor for his services as Editor.

10. It was decided to ask Messrs. Probsthain for a statement of sales of the Journal up to the present, and to address them regarding cost of postage &c. on Journals forwarded to London.

11. A letter from the President of the Kyaukse Academy suggesting an offer of prizes for literary works in Burmese was referred to the Sub-Committee.

Dated the 19th June 1922.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Eighth Text Publication Sub-Committee held at the Bernard Free Library at 8 a.m. on Saturday the 26th August 1922.

PRESENT.

U Tin	U May Oung (<i>Chairman</i>),	U Po Sein
Saya Lin		Saya Pwa
Mr. G. H. Luce		Mr. L. F. Taylor
Mr. J. G. Fraser		Saya Tun Pe.

1. The Minutes of the Seventh meeting held on Sunday the 6th November 1921 were read and confirmed.

2. RESOLVED that the Text Publication Sub-Committee recommends to the Burma Research Society that the Talaing history translated and edited by the Rev. R. Halliday be printed in book form.

3. RESOLVED that the consideration of San Shwe Bu's letter about Arakanese literature be deferred until further information is received from him.

4. RESOLVED that we recommend to the Burma Research Society that a 2nd. instalment of Maung Kala Yazawin be published and that an editorial Sub-Committee consisting of U Tin, Maung Ba Kya and the Honorary Secretary be appointed to report on the scope of the same.

5. RESOLVED that the Burma Research Society be requested to sanction the publication of the 1st. instalment of Maung Kala Yazawin at the same cost per 100 pages as that of the Owadahtu Pyo, and that the Honorary Secretary be asked to prepare an estimate.

6. Saya Pwa reports that he will be able to submit the edited text of the Mingalathok pyo within a month.

The 30th August 1922.

TUN PE,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the 3rd Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 15th September 1922.

P R E S E N T :

M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq.

U Po Sein.

A. Rodger, Esq.

U Tun Pe.

S. G. Grantham, Esq.

Maung Ba Kya.

G. R. T. Ross, Esq.

G. H. Luce, Esq.

W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. The minutes of the 2nd meeting held on 17th June 1922 were confirmed.

2. Decisions made upon matters referred to the Committee in circular dated 22nd August were confirmed.

3. It was resolved that the Talaing Chronicle which is being edited by Mr. Halliday should be printed as one issue of the Journal by the A. B. M. Press. 1000 copies should be printed.

4. It was resolved that four members who had promised donations to the Text Publication Fund should be asked to give their donations now to be utilised in paying for the printing of 500 copies of the Maung Kala Yazawin (first instalment) by the Pyigy Mundyne Pitaka Press at an estimated cost of Rs. 687-8. Publication of the Maung Kala Yazawin was sanctioned provided these donations are received.

5. It was resolved that the Text Publication Sub-Committee be requested to recommend to the Executive Committee means of financing the publication of texts, on the lines suggested in item 8 of the minutes of the meeting of the Committee held on November 23rd, 1920, and in item 15 of the minutes of the meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee held on February 4th, 1921.

6. Mr. L. F. Taylor was appointed a member of the Executive Committee in place of Maung Ba Han who has left Burma, U Shwe Zan Aung who is not resident in Rangoon was transferred to the General Committee.

7. A letter was read from Mr. J. A. Stewart regarding the publication of certain *sittans*. A special sub-committee consisting of Messrs. J. S. Furnivall, G. H. Luce, U Tun Pe, and Maung Ba Kya was appointed to consider and report on the matter.

The 16th September 1922.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the third meeting of Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on September 28th, 1922.

P R E S E N T.

M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E.

U May Oung

Mg. Ba Kya

G. H. Luce, Esq.

W. G. Fraser Esq.

1. The minutes of the 2nd meeting of the Sub-Committee were confirmed.

2. It was resolved that the Society should bear the cost of freight or postage of Journals sent to Messrs. Probsthain for sale, on the understanding that Messrs. Probsthain sell the Journal at the price fixed by the Society.

3. It was resolved to circulate to the Committee the Sub-Committee's recommendations regarding an offer of prizes as approved by U Chit Maung, with the addition of another prize of Rs. 25 offered by U Chit Maung.

4. It was decided that members whose copy of the Journal was sent at their own request V.P.P. for the annual subscription and was returned "refused" or "unclaimed", and who have not replied to letters asking for an explanation, should be deemed to have resigned. Members in arrears for 2 years or over, who are not on leave or absent from Burma for other reasons, and who have not replied to reminders, should also be deemed to have resigned.

5. The following were elected as ordinary members:—

Maung Tun Maung, Monywa

Mr. Saw Pan Dok, Mandalay

Mr. J. C. Bilimoria, B.A., Bar-at-Law, University College.
(with effect from 1st January 1923).

6. It was resolved that it is not feasible to indicate original members by printing the word "founder" after their names in the Journal.

7. It was resolved that a list of members who have died during the year should be printed in the Journal along with the list of members.

8. Sanction was accorded to expenditure by Honorary Editor, not exceeding Rs. 100, on work connected with the preparation of Taungthu Mss. for printing.

9. It was resolved that as one of the Rangoon presses is prepared to print the Maung Kala Yazawin at its own risk, the text as edited for the Text Publication Sub-Committee, should be made over to the press. Donations amounting to Rs. 500 towards the cost of printing this Yazawin will, with consent of the donors, be reserved for printing other works. It was resolved that this resolution should be submitted to the Committee by circular for approval.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

*Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee
held at the Bernard Free Library at 8 a.m. on Friday, 29th
September 1922.*

1. Minutes of the Eighth Meeting, held on Saturday, the 26th August, 1922, were confirmed.

2. In response to the Executive Committee's request for recommendations as to means of financing the publication of texts, it was resolved—

(a) to appoint a Sub-Committee consisting of U Tin, K.S.M., Saya Lin, Saya Tun Pe and Maung Ba Kya (Convener), to prepare a list including various works proposed at previous meetings of which good MSS are available, together with about 30 other unpublished works deemed suitable for publication, and arranged in order of urgency; this list to be submitted for approval at the next Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee to be held early in November.

(b) to invite presses in Rangoon and elsewhere to undertake, at their own risk, the publication of texts selected from the above list and edited by the Society: provided that the texts be printed as edited, and have the following notice on the cover: "Edited by under the auspices of the Text Publication Sub-Committee, Burma Research Society."

(c) to appeal, by private approach in the first instance, to prominent persons to defray cost of publishing other approved texts.

(d) that texts published by the Society be sold on commission by the presses, and that advertisements or reviews be inserted in vernacular and other papers, and order-forms issued to suitable members of the public.

(e) that later it may be found advisable to open an Annual Subscription List.

(f) that meantime the Owadahtu Pyo and Mingalathok Pyo are the two specimen texts to be published at the Society's expense.

(g) that the Text Publication Fund has now Rs. 500 in hand for future publications.

3. RESOLVED—

(a) that the offer of Pyigyí Mundyne Pitaka Press to print, at its own risk, Maung Kala Yazawin as edited and approved by the Society, be accepted

(b) that the second instalment of Maung Kala Yazawin be taken in hand.

G. H. LUCE,

Dated September 29th 1922.

Joint Honorary Secretary.

*Minutes of the 4th meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma
Research Society held at University College on 15th November.*

P R E S E N T.

M. Hunter, Esq, C.I.E.

J. J. Nolan, Esq.

G. R. T. Ross, Esq.

S. G. Grantham, Esq.

U. May Oung.

G. H. Luce, Esq.

L. F. Taylor, Esq.

Maung Ba Kya

Saya Thein.

W. G. Fraser Esq., (*Hony. Secy* :)

1. The minutes of the 3rd meeting of the Executive Committee held on 15th September, 1922, were confirmed.

2. Resolved to address the executors of the late U Chit Maung regarding the amount offered by him as prizes in the Competition recently announced under the auspices of the Society.

3. Sanctioned the allocation of £10 for printing and distributing leaflets regarding the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin which is to be published by the Oxford Press. Messrs. Taylor and Luce were asked to make suggestions regarding methods of advertising the book.

4. Resolved that permission be given to the Editor of the "Servant of Burma" to reprint in his paper articles which have appeared in the Journal of the *Burma Research Society*; but that the Society is unable to accede to his request for a set of the Journal free of charge.

5. Resolved that a list of books which might be offered in exchange for the Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Vienna should be prepared.

6. Resolved that as no suitable paper is available it will not be possible to hold another General Meeting this year.

7. Resolved that the Society should invest in Cash Savings Certificates to the value of Rs. 2,000.

8. Resolved that a circular should be sent to the General Committee proposing that Sir Reginald Craddock should be made an Honorary Member of the Society; and that a letter should be addressed to him expressing the Society's regret at his departure.

9. Resolved that the Honorary Secretary should request Mr. Taw Sein Ko for information whether a copy of the MS. *Therī Apādān-attakathā* is available and if so at what cost it can be purchased or copied for the Pali Text Society.

10. Sanction was given to the expenditure (by the Honorary Editor) of a sum of Rs. 10 in addition to Rs. 100 already sanctioned to cover cost of preparing a Taungthu MS for printing.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

Dated the 17th November 1922.

LIST OF RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

- Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Vols XLV—LII.
- Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient, Vol, XXI, No. 1. 1922.
- Journal Asiatique, Vol. XIX (No. 2, April—June 1922)
- A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts collected during the triennium 1916-17 to 1918-19 for the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. III, Parts IA, B, C.
- The Indian Antiquary, August—November 1922.
- The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 3rd and 4th Quarters 1922.
- Journal of the East India Association, New Series Vol, XIII, Nos. 3 and 4 1922.
- Man in India—a quarterly record of Anthropological Science with special reference to India, edited by Sarat Chandra Row, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2 1922.
- Thé Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. VIII, Parts I and II, 1922.
- Djawa, No. 2, June 1922.
- Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LII, 1922 (January to June.)
- Index to Anthropological Memoirs, Nos. 1 to 6.
- A comparative Dictionary of the Pwo—Karen Dialect, 2 Parts, by Rev. W. C. B. Purser and Saya Tun Aung.
- Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle (Muhammadan and British Monuments) for the year ending 31st March 1921.
- Arts et Archéologie Khmers Vol. I 1921-22, Fasc. I
- Thu-thodhita Mahā Yazawingyi, Vol. I.
- Kônbaungset Mahā Yazawindawgyi, Vol. I.
- The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, edited by E. J. Rapson.
- Rupam, a Journal of Oriental Art, No. 11, July 1922.

Offer of Prizes.

UNDER the auspices of the *Burma Research Society* and subject to the conditions stated hereunder, the following prizes are offered for open competition.

PRIZE COMPETITION A.

1st Prize Rs. 50.

Two 2nd Prizes of Rs. 25 each.

These prizes offered for *the best set of unpublished songs or ballads by any Burmese writer who wrote before 1885*. The first prize Rs. 50 is offered by U Chit Maung, President of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, whose property the entry gaining the first prize will become. The two second prizes are offered by the *Burma Research Society*, whose property the entries gaining these prizes will become.

PRIZE COMPETITION B.

One Prize Rs. 100.

This prize, which consists of Rs. 50 contributed by U Chit Maung, Kyaukse, and Rs. 50 contributed by U May Oung, Rangoon, is offered for *the best essay in Burmese on the life and works of U Ponnya with comments on the zats, songs, &c., showing why they were written and contemporary opinions regarding them*. The work gaining the prize will become the property of the *Burma Research Society*.

PRIZE COMPETITION C.

One Prize Rs. 25.

This prize is offered by U Chit Maung for the best essay in Burmese poetical prose on one of the following subjects :

1. On the Tamarind Tree မန်တုဉ်းပင်၏အသုံးကျခြင်း
2. On the Subot-ywet or Chinbaung မြင်ပေါ်ရွက်သီးပုတ်ဆူးပုတ်ရွက်
3. On seasonal flowers.

The competitors should study U Ponnya's *မေတ္တာစာ* on နွားတကောင်လုံးအသုံးကျသည့်, and the poetical prose should be similar to that of this work. The work gaining the prize will become the property of U Chit Maung.

CONDITIONS. In addition to the conditions stated above, the following conditions are laid down, and it will be assumed that all competitors accept all the conditions stated here and above.

(1) *The Burma Research Society* reserves the right to publish any or all of the prize-winning works in the Society's Journal.

(2) Entries must be addressed to the *Honorary Secretary (Prize Competition), Burma Research Society, Bernard Free Library, Rangoon*. to whom they must be delivered on or before 28th February 1923.

(3) The *Burma Research Society* cannot undertake to return to competitors any of the entries for the competition.

(4) Judges have been appointed by the *Burma Research Society* for each competition and their decision will be final.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary,

မြန်မာသုတေသနအသင်းက ဆုပေးပွဲ ကြော်ငြာစာ။

မြန်မာသုတေသန အသင်းက ကြီးကြပ်ဆောင်ရွက်၍ အောက်တွင် ဘော်ပြသည့်စည်းကမ်းချက်များအရ အားထုတ်စွမ်းဆောင် နိုင်သူတို့အား အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ဆုအသီးအသီးတို့ကို ပေးကမ်းပါလိမ့်မည်။

- (က) အမှတ်ဆု။ ပဌမဆု ငွေ ၅၀။
ဒုတိယဆုမှာ ၂၅။ကျစီ ဆု၂ခု။

ဤဆုအတွက်မှာ ၁၀၀၅ ခုနှစ် မတိုင်မှီက ဆရာကြီးတပါးပါး ရေးသားထားခဲ့သော။ ပုံနှိပ်ထုတ်ဝေခြင်းမပြုရသေးသည့် အကောင်းဆုံး သီချင်းကြီးများ။ သို့မဟုတ် ချောင်းဟောင်းများကို ၅၁၅ ထုတ်ဘော်ရန်ဖြစ်သည်။ ။ ဤဆုများတွင် ပဌမ ဆုငွေ ၅၀ မှာ။ ကျောက်ဆည်မြို့ ဂန္တနာရ ဗဟုသုတ အသင်းဥက္ကဋ္ဌလူကြီး ဦးချစ်မောင်က ချီးမြှင့်သည့်ဆုဖြစ်၍။ ၎င်းဆုရသည့်စာမူကို ဦးချစ်မောင်ပိုင် ဖြစ်စေလိမ့်မည်။ ဒုတိယဆု ၂ ခုမှာ မြန်မာ သုတေသနအသင်းက ချီးမြှင့်သည့်ဆုဖြစ်၍ ၎င်းဆုရသည့်စာမူကို အသင်းပိုင် ဖြစ်စေလိမ့်မည်။

- (ခ) အမှတ်ဆု။ ငွေ ၁၀၀ ဆုတခုတည်း။

ဤဆုအတွက်မှာ။ ကျောက်ဆည်မြို့ ဦးချစ်မောင်နှင့် ရန်ကုန်မြို့ ဦးမေအောင်တို့က ၅၀ စီ ချီးမြှင့်ကြပါလိမ့်မည်။ ရေးသားရန်အကြောင်းမှာ။ စလေဆရာကြီး ဦးပုည၏ အကြောင်းအတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိနှင့် ၎င်းဆရာကြီး စီကုံးရေးသားခဲ့သည့် ကဗျာလင်္ကာအမျိုးမျိုး။ ပြဇာတ်များ။ သီချင်းများမှစ၍ ၎င်းတို့ကို ဘယ်အတွက်ကြောင့် ရေးသားကြောင်းများကို မိမိထင်မြင်ချက်နှင့် တကွ။ ဦးပုညလက်ထက် ၎င်းစာများနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ အခြားပညာရှိတို့ထင်မြင်ချက်များပါ ထုတ်တော်ရေးသားရမည်။ ဤဆုရရှိသည့်စာမူကိုလည်း မြန်မာသုတေသနအသင်းပိုင်ဖြစ်စေလိမ့်မည်။

- (ဂ) အမှတ်ဆု။ ငွေ ၂၅။ ဆုတခုတည်း။

ဤဆုအတွက်မှာ အောက်တွင် ဘော်ပြသည့်အကြောင်းများအနက်။ မိမိတို့ နှစ်သက်ရာ တခုခုကို ရွေးကောက်၍။ အလျဉ်းသင့်ရာ။ လင်္ကာကားပြေရောနှောစီကုံး ရေးသားရန်ဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းဆုကိုလည်း ဦးချစ်မောင်ကပင် ချီးမြှင့်မည်ဖြစ်၍။ စာမူကိုလည်း။ ဦးချစ်မောင် ပိုင်ပင် ဖြစ်စေလိမ့်မည်။

- က ။ မန်ကျည်းပင်၏အသုံးကျခြင်း။
- ခ ။ ချင်ပေါင်ရွက်။ သို့မဟုတ် ဆူးပုတ်ရွက်။
- ဂ ။ ရာသီလိုက်ပွင့်သည့်ပန်းများ။

ဤဆုတွင် ပါဝင်သူတို့သည်။ နွားတကောင်လုံး အသုံးကျဟန်။ စလေဆရာကြီး ဦးပုညရေးသားခဲ့သောစာကို စံနမူနာထား၍ ၎င်းနှင့်စာသွားအလားတူရေးသားကြရမည်။

စည်းကမ်းချက်များမှာ။ အထက်တွင် ဘော်ပြခဲ့သည့် စည်းကမ်းချက်များ အပြင်။ အောက်ပါ အတိုင်းလည်းလိုက်နာရမည်။ ဤစည်းကမ်းချက် ၂ ရပ်လုံးကိုပင် ဆုပွဲအတွက် ရေးသားသူတို့ စောင့်ရှောက်လိုက်နာသည်ဟု မှတ်ယူလိမ့်မည်။

- (၁) ဆုရရှိသည့်စာ တခုခုကိုဖြစ်စေ။ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်စေ။ အသင်းဂျာနယ်သတင်းစာတွင် ပုံနှိပ်ထုတ်ဝေနိုင်ခြင်းသည်။ မြန်မာသုတေသနအသင်းနှင့်သာ ဆိုင်သောအခွင့်ဖြစ်သည်။

- (၂) ဆုပွဲအတွက် ရေးသောစာများကို။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ ဘားနာဒ်ပိဋကတ်တိုက်။ မြန်မာ သုတေသနအသင်း။ ဆုပေးပွဲဆိုင်ရာအကျိုးဆောင်စက္ကနီတေရီထံလိပ်တပ်၍။ ၁၉၂၃ ခု။ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီလ ၂၀ ရက်နေ့ မတိုင်မှီဖြစ်စေ။ ၎င်းနေ့ရက်၌ဖြစ်စေ။ ရောက်အောင်ပေးပို့ရမည်။

- (၃) ဆုမရရှိသောစာများကို ရေးသားတင်သွင်း သူတို့ထံ မြန်မာသုတေသန အသင်းက ပြန်လည်ပေးပို့နိုင်မည်မဟုတ်။

- (၄) ဆုံးဖြတ်မည့် ခုံသမာဓိလူကြီးများကို မြန်မာသုတေသန အသင်းက ဆုပွဲအသီးအသီးအတွက် ရွေးကောက်ခန့်ထား၍။ ၎င်းလူကြီးများ ခုံရုံးဖြတ်ချက်ကို အတည်ပြုလိမ့်မည်။

W. G. FRASER,
အကြီးဆောင်စက္ကနီတေရီ။

OBITUARY

U CHIT MAUNG. DIED ON 14TH OCTOBER 1922.

The Committee of the Burma Research Society have heard with deep sorrow of the death of U Chit Maung, of the Co-operative Societies Department, Kyaukse. U Chit Maung was a keen supporter and Committee-Member of the Burma Research Society. He obtained for the Society a large number of new members. He also stimulated interest in Research, especially in the Kyaukse District, which was indirectly of considerable benefit to the Society. He worked for and accomplished the affiliation of the Kyaukse Academy, of which he was President, to the Burma Research Society. At the present moment an announcement of a competition under the auspices of the Burma Research Society is appearing in the newspapers. U Chit Maung had offered in the shape of prizes for this competition a total sum of Rs. 125. In these and other ways U Chit Maung showed a splendid spirit and enthusiasm for his country and for the cause of research. He was one of the members most active in promoting the objects for which the Burma Research Society exists. We add two testimonies to the value of his work, received from Mr. C. W. Dunn and Mr. J. A. Stewart. The former writes :—

"My knowledge of U Chit Maung was as an official of the Co-operative Societies Department. He had taken part in managing a co-operative society of clerks in Kyaukse before he joined the Department in 1914. In recent years he had been working in the Shwebo, Katha and Myitkyina Districts. He had several times during this period been seriously ill : but was not deterred from strenuous work and touring. He died in October 1922 of fever after a long tour. He "knew his job", as few officials do, and was an accurate and competent critic in departmental discussions. He thought with a wider view about his work than most people do, and was well able to "render a reason" and to justify Co-operative Societies to sceptical strangers. I have heard him described as "an interesting man" by a person of discernment. U Chit Maung was certainly interesting to us in the Co-operative Societies Department. The Research Society knows that he was not a man of narrow interests."

Mr. J. A. Stewart writes :—

"Members of the Society will regret to learn of the death of U Chit Maung from malaria fever at Thabyeyo, Kyaukse district, on the 14th October last.

He was a native of Gyobingauk and was the adopted son of U Po, K. S. M., Extra Assistant Commissioner. Coming to Kyaukse with his adoptive father, he married a Kyaukse lady and held various posts in the district offices. He became an enthusiastic believer in Co-operation and founded the society which afterwards became the Kyaukse Popular Bank. The active part he played in running this and other societies brought him to the notice of Mr. English, who invited him to

join the Co-operative department. This he eventually did—though with great reluctance, for he was a man of retiring disposition and most of his interests were local—and he was a valued member of the Co-operative staff.

He was a keen antiquarian and was the founder of the Kyaukse Academy—a society affiliated to the Burma Research Society, whose main object is the study of the antiquities of the district. His qualifications for this study were exceptional. He had a good knowledge of both English and Burmese; his home was in the district and he had opportunities for acquiring the old manuscripts which the owners are so chary of producing to a stranger.

His death at the age of 38 removed one of the few English-educated officials with leanings towards the study of Burmese history and literature. It is hoped that his library of manuscripts and printed books will not be dissipated but will be suitably housed and preserved as a lasting memorial to him.

Not only will his death be a lasting grief to the many friends to whom his sterling qualities and charm of manner endeared him: but a man in whom the desire to benefit his fellow-men was so active a principle, a patriot in the best sense, could ill be spared by his country.

PHONETICS IN A PASSPORT.

BY PE MAUNG TIN.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Burmese alphabet is based on the Indian alphabet and that five of the consonants are pronounced differently in modern Burmese from the Pali. These consonants are *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, and *s*. As the sounds of *ch*, *j*, *jh* depend on that of *c*, it will be sufficient to discuss only *c* and *s*. The Burmese characters for *c* and *s* are ဓ, ဝ. But Burmans now do not pronounce them as they are pronounced in Pali, *i.e.* like the English *ch* (as in *church*) and *s*, but pronounce them as *s* and *th*. We can account for this in two ways: Either the change in pronunciation was made from the first when the Indian alphabet was adopted, or else it is the result of a gradual phonetic process. I know of nothing whatever by way of evidence to show that the first alternative holds good. If then, according to the second alternative, the change is due to a gradual phonetic process, the question is, when did it first make its appearance? We can see the change in the forms of words from the time of the earliest inscriptions to the present day. Have we any similar evidence to show that the sounds *c*, *s* were changed into the sounds *s*, *th* at a particular period in the history of the Burmese language? Hitherto no evidence has been found, so that it was impossible to give the phonetic values of ဓ, ဝ in an old inscription.

The accompanying document, which belongs to the Bodleian Library Oxford, throws light on the question. It is a Burmese Passport dated 1783 with a Portuguese translation. On the left top corner is affixed the Burmese Royal Peacock Seal which is very well preserved. The characters, especially the Burmese, offer no difficulty of reading. I pass over its historical interest for the present and will deal with its philological aspect. The Portuguese version renders the Burmese names and titles phonetically, *i.e.* as they are heard by the Portuguese ear, just as a Burman might write စက္ကိတေဒီ for 'secretary.' How far can we trust this Portuguese version as giving the phonetic values of ဓ, ဝ? Take the following words:

For the Burmese	စစ်ကဲတော်မင်း	[Sikkèdawmin]*	the Portuguese has
			Chitkeydohming
„	စာရေးတော်ကြီး	[Sayedawgyi]	„ Cheredohgry
„	ထောင်စုရာ	[Thahkin Hpaya]	„ Saquem Purah
„	လွှတ်တော်	[Thlutani]	„ Sieltany
„	ဂုလ်သတ္တ	[Gulan Thatta]	„ Gulam Sattar

The Portuguese *ch*, *s* thus correspond to ဓ, ဝ. *Ch* would normally be pronounced by a Portuguese as the English *sh*. And there can be no question of the initial *s* being a sibilant. It would thus follow that ဓ, ဝ were pronounced *sh*, *s* in 1783 and not *s*, *th* as at present. But since this document is not a primer of phonetics, the evidence it affords cannot be final. Everybody knows how strange one's native words appear in a

* The modern pronunciations are given in square brackets,

foreign garb, and how difficult it is for a foreigner to acquire certain sounds. In this case the Portuguese may have had a bad ear, or his Burman friends had some slight infirmity of the vocal organs or peculiarity of pronunciation such as a lisp. Or it may even be that both the speaker and hearer were at fault. Even if the right sound was heard, the writer may not have had a corresponding sound in his own language. Let us see how far such disturbing factors can have influenced our document.

This is how *o*, *ɔ* sounded to an English ear. Col. Symes in his 'Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava made in 1795', i.e. twelve years after our document, renders *o* by *ch* in the following words: *Chekey* စိကီ [Sikké], *Chagaing* စာဂေါင်း [Sagaining], [*Chenguza* ဇွဲကူဇာ [Singuza], *Chilenza* စလင်းဇာ [Salinza], *Chobwa* စောဘွား [Sawbwa]. The difference in sound between *o* and its aspirate *ɔ* is negligible to an English ear for practical purposes, and so Symes as *ch* also for *ɔ* in *Monchaboo* မုဆိုး [Moshsoo], *putchoo* ပုဆိုး [pahso]. I need not ask English readers how they would pronounce *ch* in these words. However, any doubt that might arise is dispelled by the rendering of *ချပ်* as *chop*, where Symes gives the phonetic value of *ch*, since the word *ချပ်* is pronounced with *ch* as in *church*. He cannot possibly mean *sh* since he has many examples of words with the proper *sh* sound, such as *Shoedagon* ရွှေတိဂုံ. He thus leaves no room for doubt that he heard *o* pronounced as *ch*. It is remarkable that both Symes and the Portuguese should render *စိကီ* by *ch*: *chekey* *chitkey*. This shows that even though the Portuguese would pronounce *ch* as *sh*, he probably meant the palatal *ch* sound in *စိကီ*, for how else could he have reproduced this sound, which does not exist in his own language?

As regards *ɔ*, Symes has *Cassay* ကဆဲ [Kathè], *Persaim* ပုဆိမ် [Pathein], *Tenasserem* တနင်္သာရီ [Taninthayi], *Sandainguite* သတင်းကျွတ် [Thadingyut], *Mahasee-soo-ra* မဟာသီရိ [Mahathithuya], *Saloen* သံလွင် [Thanlwin], *piasath* ပြာသစ် [pyatthad], *Serec* ခီရီ [Thiyi], *Sigeamee* သိကြီးမင်း [Thagyamin], *Sirriapmew* သုကြိမ် [Thayemyo], *sunneka* သနင်္ခါ [thanahka] etc. There is no possibility of Symes mistaking a *th* sound for *s*, since an Englishman knows the difference between these two sounds as well as a Burman, so that if there was the slightest tendency in the Burmese words to a *th* sound, Symes would not fail to have noticed it. And the agreement between the Englishman and the Burman in this respect extends to the distinction that both make between *th* in *thin* and that in *then*. Symes thus confirms the Portuguese rendering of *ɔ* by *s*. In his preface Symes says: 'In the orthography of Birman words I have endeavoured to express, by appropriate letters, the sounds as they struck my own ear'. There is thus no reason to doubt that *o*, *ɔ* struck his ear as *ch*, *s*. In some of the place-names he follows his friends, Dalrymple and Wood, who accompanied him to Burma. This only strengthens his evidence, since there were more English ears than two in consultation.

Let us take one more European writer, an Italian. Father Sangermano was in Burma for twenty five years from 1783-1808. Symes, who

met him in Rangoon, has left this testimony: 'He seemed a very respectable and intelligent man, spoke and wrote the Birman language fluently, and was held in high estimation by the natives for his exemplary life and inoffensive manners'. Sangermano's evidence therefore deserves attention. He has many words with *o* respresented by *s*. e.g. Sarekittà သရေကျော [Thayehkittaya] suà si သွားသွယ် [thwa thi], sabeit သိမ် [thabeit], sein သိမ် [thein], son သုံး [thon], sotran သုတ္တံ [thottan] etc. On the other hand he generally gives *o* as *ts* (Italian *z*), i.e. a transition from the palatal to the sibilant, as in sacchiavalà စကြာဝလာ [sakkyawala], Avizi အဝီ [Awisi], Zaboà ဇာဘွား [Sawbwa], Mienzain မြင်ခင်း [Myinzaing], Zingusa ဇင်္ဂုဆား [Singuza], sicchè စစ် [sikké], saun ဆောင်း [saung]. The aspirate *o* is also represented by *s*, e.g. saradò ဆရာတော် [hsayadaw], Moszobo မုဆိုး [Mos-hsobo] natzò နတ်ဆိုး [nat-hso], sà ဆာ [hsa], san ဆန် [hsan]. Sangermano thus gives the transitional pronunciation of *o* and the old pronunciation of *o*.

Examples of the modern sounds (*s*, *th*) of *o*, *o* occur also in Symes besides those of the old sounds given above. Thus for *o*—Seenghoo ဇင်္ဂု [Singu], sere ဇာရူး [saye], Sunnay ဇန [Sane], soum ဆောင်း [saung]; and for *o*—Thanluayn သံလွင် [Thanlwin], Rameethayn ရမည်းသင်း [Yamethin], Thagiamee သိကြားမင်း [Thagyamin].

This conclusion is perhaps justified, that the pronunciation of *o*, *o* at about the end of the 18th century was in a transitional stage, the old sounds yielding to the new.

To show that such was probably the case, the slightly later evidence of two English writers, Snodgrass and another, who brought out their works in 1827 (Narrative of the Burmese War, and Two Years in Ava), may be given. In both we find *o*, *o* rendered by the old and new sounds. Thus *o* is rendered by *ch* in Chobwah ဇာဘွား [Sawbwa], Chagain ဇင်္ဂု [Sagaing]; by *s* in Sykia စစ် [Sikké]. *o* is rendered by *ch* in Monchaboo မုဆိုး [Moshsoo]; by *s* in pussoh မုဆိုး [pahso], Shwesandau ရွှေဆံတော် [Shwehsandaw]. *o* is pronounced *s* in Cassay ကသဲ [Kathè], Seree သီရိ [Thiyi], Saluoen သံလွင် [Thanlwin], piasth ပြဿ် [pyatthad] Sarrawuddy သာယာဝတီ [Thayawadi]. It is pronounced *th* in Thalueyn သံလွင် [Thanlwin] meouthogee မြို့ထွေး [myothugyi], Thuhah-thu သူတူ [Thuhah-thu].

The change in the pronunciation of *o* from *r* to *y* is more obvious. The *r* sound survives in Arakan. And even Burmans still pronounce *o* as Hparah. The *r* occurs regularly in our Portuguese writer, Symes and Sangermano in such distinct forms as Seredohgry စာရေးတော်ကြီး [Sayedawgyi], Rhahaan ရဟန်း [Yahan], rua ရွာ [ywa], Rhoom ရုံး [Yon] Praw ဘုရား [Hpraya], tara တရား [taya] etc. Notable instances of the *y* sound are, in Symes: Miamma မြန်မာ [Myanma], miou မြို့ [myo], Mayahoun မြန်မာ [Myanaung], Sigeamee သိကြားမင်း [Thagyamin]; in Sangermano, Miemmo မြင်း [Myimmo], Mienzain မြင်ခင်း [Myinzaing], Ion, Jon ရုံး [Yon], ioa ရွာ [ywa]. Thus though the *r* sound persists to the present day, at any rate in Arakan, it was being softened into the *y* sound at the end of the 18th century. This softening may have set in earlier, but our present evidence does not go beyond that.

There is one other important point I wish to mention in connection with the conjunct *ky*, Burmese ကျ. Whether the *y* here is the *y* proper as in *kya* ကျား or a softening of *r* as in *kya* ကြာ, in modern Burmese *ky* is pronounced *ty* (now phonetically written *tj*) and not *ky*, i.e. it is produced in the front and not in the back of the mouth, or again it is a palatal and not a guttural. Now Symes represents this sound thus: *kioum*, ကျောင်း [tʃaung], *Keah-subbeday* ကြာသပတေး [Tyathabade]. Sangermano has *kiam* ကျမ်း [tʃan], *zacchiavalà* စကြာဇာလီ [Satyawala], *Chiozoà* ကျော့ခွာ [Tyawzwa], *chiundo* ကျွန်တော် [tyundaw], *chiaun* ကျောင်း [tʃaung], *chiaà* ကျား [tʃa], (Italian *ch=k*). The evidence of both writers is that they heard the *ky*, or back, or guttural sound. If the sound had been the front or palatal *ty*, the Italian would at once have recognized it, since it is practically the sound in his own *cento*. The Englishman also would not have failed to notice it, since he would have found it practically the same as his *ch*. It is therefore probable that ကြာ were pronounced up to the end of the 18th century as a back or guttural sound, which has now been fronted or palatalised into *ty*. This view is strengthened by the old pronunciation of ဓ. If, as I have tried to show, this sound ဓ was a palatal and not a sibilant, there would have been confusion between it and ကြာ, assuming the latter to have been the front or palatal *ty* sound. Hence ကြာ must have been the back or guttural sound *ky* as represented by Symes and Sangermano. ကျ ချ, being dependent on ကြာ would then have been *khy* and not *ch* as at present.

If then ဓ, ဖ (e, ch) were palatal sounds, ဓ, ခ (j, h) would consequently be palatals and not sibilants as at present. It is interesting to find that Symes has *jee* ချေး [ze]; and Capt. White in his 'Political History of the Extraordinary Events which led to the Burmese War, 1827' has *Kiojou* ကျော့ဆော [Kyawsaw].

Thus all the above evidence tends to show that Burmese consonants were pronounced as written. That applies even to conjunct consonants as in *mro* မြ [myo]. As regards the final consonants which have been 'killed', the emphasis thrown on the finals in such examples as *Ming* မင်း [Min], *Saquem* သင် [Thahkin], *Rangom* ရန်ကုန် [Yangon] in the Portuguese; and *kioum* ကျောင်း [kyaung], *Rhoom* ရုံး [Yon], *Pagahm* ဖုန် [Pagan], *soum* ဆောင်း [saung] *Sandainguite* သတင်းကျွတ် [Thadingyut] in Symes; and *kiam* ကျမ်း [kyan], *Salem* ဓလင်း [Salin] in Sangermano may not be without significance. If these European writers had heard *Min*, *Pagan*, *Salin* etc. they would not have gone out of their way to write *Ming*, *Pagahm*, *Salem* etc. This consideration, that consonants, single and conjunct, were given their full phonetic values, is in harmony with the tendency of the language to soften down consonants which would combine to give a harsh pronunciation, as *mro* softened to *myo*. This softening is probably due to the difficulty of pronouncing as one sound the two conjunct consonants, which have suffered the softening. Thus it is less easy to say *mro* than *myo*. *Mro* would naturally be pronounced as *maro*, as two sounds. This suggests that the softening of conjunct consonants has produced monosyllables out of dissyllables. Many of the present day

monosyllables must have been dissyllables. This view to which I am led by a study of phonetics in the light of the early European representations of Burmese words and names is, I am glad to find, the same as the view at which Mr. Taylor has arrived after a study of the dialects of Burma¹. A good instance of the formation of such monosyllables is afforded by ခင်ဗျား [hkin bya], a contraction from သင်ဘုရား : [thahkin bura]. This latter word, itself contracted from the trisyllabic *purahā*², is softened into *buya* which then becomes *bya*. Notice how the spelling has kept pace with the change in sound.

That *o*, *u* were pronounced *ch*, *s* is also proved by Palaung, which gives these sounds in words, which, if not actually borrowed from the Burmese, are the same in Burmese. I quote the following examples from Mrs. Milne's Palaung Grammar and her manuscript dictionary : အစဉ်၊ စေ့စို၊ စာအုပ်၊ သေချာသဌေး၊ နှစ်သက်၊ etc. The *o*, *u* in these words are pronounced *ch*, *s* in Palaung. Hence they must have been pronounced, *ch*, *s* also in Burmese before the modern sounds set in. This leads me to think that in other languages of Burma also survivals of the old pronunciation *ch*, will be met with³.

PE MAUNG TIN.



(1. 1) ဘုန်းတော်အလွန်ကြီးမြတ်တော် မူလသော ဆင်ဖြူ ဆင်နီ ဆင်ကြားများသခင်၊ ကုဋေတောင်ရာမရေတွက်သာများလှစွာသော အရိန္ဒ မာ လွက်စကြာ ရတနာ လှံပုံသခင် ရွှေတွင်း ငွေတွင်း (1. 2) ပတ္တမြား တွင်း ပယင်းတွင်းများသခင် တိုင်းကြီး ပြည်ကြီး ထီး တရာဆောင်း မင်းအ ပေါင်းတို့၏သခင် အသျှင် ဘဝရှင်မင်းဘုရားကြီးဘုရား ရွှေစက်တော်စုံ ကိုအမြဲဦးထိတ်ထက် ဆင်ရွက် (1. 3) ၍။ စီရင်လေ့ရှိသောရန်ကုန်မြို့ဝန်မင်း ရေဝန်မင်း အကော့ဝန်မင်း အမွန်ဝန်မင်း စစ်တော်မင်း နားခံတော် မင်း စာရေးတော်ကြီးတို့မှာလိုက်သည် ရန်ကုန်မြို့ဆိတ်တော်သို့ဆိုက်ရောလှာ (1. 4) သည် သင်္ဘောသား ကုလားကုန်သည် မည်သည့်အမျိုးသားမဆို။ ဆိတ်တော်သို့ဆိုက်ရောက်လှာသမျှ။ သင်္ဘောသားကုလား ကုန်သည်တို့ကိုချမ်းသာငြိမ်ဝပ်စွာ အစည်ထိုးစံရှိရာစီရင်အုပ် (1. 5) ချက်ရမည်။ ဘုရားများဒိတ်တော်မြတ် ကို ဦးထိတ်ထက် အမြဲဆင်ရွက်သည်အတိုင်း ဖောက်ကား ရောင်းဝယ်စေသည်နှင့် အညီ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့နေ သင်္ဘောသူကြီးဘုတ်မာမက်သျှတ်သားမရား (1. 6) နှင့် အိမ်ချေတိုင်စွတ်ကိုသည်။ သင်္ဘော ၂ ပင်တိုင် ပွတ်တေညွှတ်ကန်အမည်ခေါ်သည့် သင်္ဘောနှင့် ဝန်ပိုင်ကား ပြည်သစ် ဖရောင်း-ဆင်စွယ်-ခဲမပြု-ဆေး တန်-ရှားစည်း-အရပ် အရပ် ကိုများတင်၍။ လူ (1. 7) ပေါင်း ၄ ကျိပ်ခန့်မျှ ကိုသည် နော်ပါလူစုများ နှင့်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၅-ခုနှစ်။ သဘင်းကျွတ်လဆန်း ၅ ကနေ့တွင်။ ဘင်ဂလာ ကော်သျှတာ ကော်ရမန်ဒယ် မာလာယူမည်သည့်မြို့ရွာဆိတ်မဆိုဖောက်ကားရောင်း (1. 8) ဝယ်အလံတော်နှင့်ပင်လယ်စောင့်စားတံဆိပ် တော်ခပ်၍ ကပ္ပိတ် ဂလော်ပီကို သင်္ဘောသူကြီး အရာနှင့်။ ဂုံလံသတ္တာကိုသင်္ဘောစီးအရာနှင့် ပေးအပ်၍။ တက္ကန်းမြို့ရွာသို့ ဖောက်ကား ရောင်ဝယ် သွာလာစေရမည်အကြောင်းကို (1. 9) အစီရင်ခံသည့်အတိုင်း ရံတော်က မင်ညီမင်စုံ ပင်လယ်ဆောင်စာ အလံတော်များ ပေးအပ်၍ သွားလာစေသည်။ လမ်းခရီးတွင်မှ စ၍အရပ်ရပ်ပင်လယ်မှာသင်္ဘော ဘိုင်ချက် ဘိုင်မှူး သူရှ သူခက်။ ရဲမက် လွက်ကိုင် မည်သည့် အမြွှ်းသား (1. 10) မဆိုသဟာရရောက်ကျသည်နှင့်အညီ။ ၂ ပင်တိုင် သင်္ဘောကိုမဆီမတာ ချမ်းသာငြိမ်ဝပ်စွာနှင့် ဖောက်ကား ရောင်ဝယ် သွာလာစေရမည်။ တက္ကန်းမြို့ရွာ ဆိပ်များသို့ ဆိုက်ရောက်လျှင်။ မြိုင်ဝန်-ရေဝန်- အကော့ဝန်-ဆိပ်စား-ဆိပ် (1. 11) စာရေးတို့မှစ၍ ၂ ပင်တိုင် သင်္ဘောကို ချမ်းသာ ငြိမ်ဝပ်စွာနှင့် ဖောက်ကား ရောင်ဝယ်သွာလာစေရမည်အကြောင်းကို။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ အရန်ပိုင်မင်များက ပင်လယ်ဆောင်စာ ပေးအပ်သွာလာစေရမည်။

POR ORDEM D'EL REY.

Nos Governador e mais Conselheiros Mrowin Meng Saquem purá Rewin Ming Awwn Ming [1. 2] Awnwun Ming, Chitkeydoh, Nawundoh, Cheredohgry Ming Myah assentado em Conselho de Runday, para fazer todos os bens que nos podemos aos todos navios estrangeiros que vêm contratar em nossos portos &c.

[1. 3] Pedimos aos Senhores Almirantes Vice-Almirantes das Frótas Chefes das Esquadras, Capitães dos Navios das quaesquer [1. 4] Potencias que sijão nossos amigos alliados e demais todas as outras que sendo em alguma maneira potencias. De deixar passar livremente Brigantim chamado [1. 5] Fathe Sieltany do porte mais ou menos cento e vinte 120 toneladas, que pertence Dom Budan Mahomet Sahib habitante que mora abaixo de nossa jurisdição e que vai n'elle embarcado [1. 6] por capitão commandante Senhor Galoppe e para sobrecarga Gulam Sattar que porte d'este porto de Rangom para Bengala &c. e com nossa real bandeira e com sua Alutawins equipagem [1. 7] mais ou menos de quaranta pessoas diferentes nações 40 pessoas e com a carga de paos e tabôas Sirás Marphilu, Calun, Artal, Caihoo, e os demais mercadores passageiros e [1. 8] assim venhão annunciar a Vos e mandemos passar presente passaporte em nosso Conselho e assignamos e sellamos com sello das Armas Reaes &c.

[1. 9] Tambem pedimos aos Senhores Governadores e Commandantes dos Portos Maritimos que não ponhão nenhum impedimento nas ouas viagens [1. 10] que sejaõ servidos de favor para de ajudar em caso de necessidade assim nos não deixaremos de fazer o mesmo em semelhante occasião &c.

[1. 11] Demos presente passapôrte à chegada do dito Brigantim a este porto Rangom vinte nove de Setembro de mil septecentos oitenta tres annos 27 7 mo. 1783.

ရန်ကုန်မြို့ဝန်သင်ဘုရား, ရေဝန်မင် အကော့ဝန်မင် အခွန်ဝန်မင် စစ်ကတော်မင် နာခံတော်မင်
Principe Governador Rewm Awquwin Aeuwuun Chitkeydoh Nawun
de Rangom Ming. Ming. Ming. Ming. doh Ming.
စာရေးတော်ကြီးမင်းများစာ

Mrowin Ming Saquem purah.

Cheredogry Ming myah.

Secretario D'el Rey.

1. 'Many of the morosyllables of the present day are but poorly disguised dissyllables and there is now evidence that many of the undoubtedly monosyllabic words are but the result of phonetic decay acting on and disguising old words of two or more syllables', *J. B. R. S.* Vol. xi, part ii.

2. *Epigraphia Birmanica* Vol. I, part 1, 26.

3. A Portuguese scholar tells me that the Portuguese version is so imperfect that he doubts if it was written by a Portuguese, at any rate an educated one. I do not think that the Burman or Burmans who composed the Burmese, also composed the Portuguese. For it is very unlikely that the Burman who begins the Burmese with the long string of glorious epithets of royalty, such as 'Lord of white Elephants, red elephants, striped elephants' etc., would leave them out of the Portuguese version. In any case, we must give Portuguese values to Portuguese characters, no matter who writes them.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE BURMESE UPPER CLASSES.

By U TIN, K.S.M. A.T.M.

မန္တလေးမြို့တွင် ထင်ရှားသော အင်္ဂလိပ်လူမျိုးဖြစ်သူ တရားဘက်ဆိုင်ရာ အရာရှိကြီးတဦးက မေးဘူးသောမေးခွန်းအတွက်ဖြေဆိုချက်များကိုရေးသားပေးလိုက်ပါသည်။

ထိုမေးချက် ဖြေချက်များမှာ (မြန်မာလူမျိုးတို့တွင် ဂုဏ်သဒ္ဓေရှိ အိမ်တော်နန်းတော်နှင့် ဆက်ဆံသော မှူးမတ်အရာရှိ သူဌေးသူကြွယ်စသော လူကြီးလူကောင်းများ၏ သားသမီးများကို ထိမ်းမြား လက်ထပ်ပြုရန်စီမံပုံ၊ ကြောင်းလမ်းပုံ ကြောင်းလမ်းချက် ပျက်ပြယ်ပုံ၊ ထမမြောက်ပုံ၊ ထိမ်းမြားတောင်းခံခံရပုံများကို ပြဆိုချက်များ) ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ပထမ။ ။ ၁။ မေး။ ။

ကြောင်းလမ်းပုံကိုမေ့စွဲကျန်ခဲ့သော သိသမျှ ဖြေဆိုရေးသားပါ။

ပထမ။ ။ အဖြေ။

ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းဆိုသည်မှာ ၂ မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ၂ မျိုးမှာ အောက်ပါအတိုင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

၁။ ။ ကလေးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း။

၂။ ။ လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း။

ကလေးချင်းချင်းကြောင်းလမ်းပုံ။

က။ ။ ယောက်ျားကလေးက မိန်းမကလေးထံဆက်သွယ်မိရန် ကြံစည်အားထုတ်ရခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ၂ ဦး ၂ ဘက်က မိဘများမသိရဘဲ ကလေးချင်းဆက်သွယ်မိရန် ကြံစည်ခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ဆက်သွယ်မိရန်ဆိုသောစကားမှာ စာလက်ခံရန်ဖြစ်စေ၊ လူချင်းကြည့်မြင်နိုင်ရန်ဖြစ်စေ၊ ပြုလုပ်ဆောင်ရွက်ရသည်ကို ဆိုလိုပါသည်။ ဆောင်ရွက်ရပုံကို ဆိုသော်၊ မိန်းမကလေး၏ အထိန်းသော်ငြား၊ ထမင်းအုပ်သွင်းရသော မိန်းမကိုသော်ငြား၊ ဆတ္တသည ပုဏ္ဏားမကိုသော်ငြား၊ ကတိုးသည် တရုပ်မကိုသော်ငြား၊ တံဆိုးပုဏ္ဏားများစွာ ပေးကမ်း၍ ဆောင်ရွက်ရပါသည်။ ထိုကဲ့သို့ဆောင်ရွက်ရသည်မှာ ယောက်ျားကလေးက စတင်ဆောင်ရွက်ရသည့် အချက်သက်သက် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ခ။ ။ ထိုကဲ့သို့ ဆောင်ရွက်ရသည်အခါ အခွင့်မသာခြင်း အခွင့်သာခြင်း တမျိုးမျိုးကွဲပြား သိသာပါသည်။ အခွင့်မသာဆိုသည်မှာ ပေးလိုက်သောစာလွှာကိုလည်း လက်ခံမဲ၊ ကြည့်မြင်ရန်လည်း စီမံခွင့် မရခြင်းများဖြစ်ပါသည်။ အခွင့်သာဆိုသည်မှာ စာလက်ခံခြင်းအားဖြင့် သော်ငြား၊ လူချင်းကြည့်မြင်ခြင်း အားဖြင့်သော်ငြား၊ တနည်းနည်းအခွင့်ရပါသည်။ ရှေးဦးစွာ စာကိုလက်ခံပြီးနောက် အတန်ကြာမှကြည့်မြင်ခွင့်ရပါသည်။ ရံဘန်ရံခါလည်း စာလက်မခံခင်ပင် အကြောင်းအားလျော်စွာ ကြည့်မြင်ခွင့်ရပါသည်။

ကြည့်မြင်ခွင့်ရသည်ဆိုသည်မှာ နီးကပ်စွာကြည့်မြင်ခွင့်ရသေးသည်မဟုတ်ပါ။ နန်းတော်အဝင် အထွက် ရထားဆင်း ရထားတက်မှာဖြစ်စေ၊ ဘုရားဖူးရာမှာဖြစ်စေ၊ ကြည့်မြင်ကြရုံသက်သက်သာရှိပါသေးသည်။ ဘုရားဖူးရာတွင် ကြည့်မြင်ရပုံမှာလည်း ၂ မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ပထမအမျိုးမှာ ဘုရားရှိခိုးရာတွင် ကြည့်မြင်ခြင်း၊ ဒုတိယအမျိုးမှာ ရွှေသည်ယောင်ဆောင်၍ ခတ်နီးနီးရွှေရောင်းစကား ပြောရင်းကြည့်မြင်ခြင်းများဖြစ်ပါသည်။ မန္တလေးတောင်တွင်ကြည့်မြင်ရခြင်းမှာ သာ၍ အကောင်းဆုံးသော အချက်ကြီးဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဂ။ ။ ၎င်းပြင် ကလေးချင်းချင်း ကြည့်မြင်ရန်နေရာမှာ မဟာမုနိဘုရားကြီးနှင့် မန္တလေးတောင်သည် အောင်သွယ်ကြီးသဘွယ်ဖြစ်၍ နေပါသည်။ မဟာမုနိဘုရားမှာ ဝါတွင်း ဝါပမဆို သီတင်းကလေး သီတင်းကြီးတိုင်းလူအများစည်ကားစွာသွားရောက်ကြသောနေရာဖြစ်ပါသည်။ မန္တလေးတောင်မှာ ပထမပြန်စာပွဲကာလ တလလုံးလုံးနှင့် လစဉ်သီတင်းကြီးနေ့တိုင်းများမှာ နန်းတွင်းသူ နန်းပြင်သူ မည်သူမဆိုရှင်ဘုရင်အလိုတော်နှင့် သွားကြရသည်ပြင် သဘောအလျောက်သွားကြလေ ကြသောသူများလည်းများပြားစွာရှိကြပါသည်။

ရှင်ဘုရင်အလိုတော်နှင့် သွားရသည်မှာ။ စာမေးပွဲစဉ်ကားစေရန်နှင့် ပဋ္ဌာန်းစရပ်မှာ ပဋ္ဌာန်းနာကြံ စေရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ သုဓမ္မာစရပ်မှာ စာမေးပွဲလုပ်ပါသည်။ ပဋ္ဌာန်းစရပ်မှာ ပဋ္ဌာန်းတရား နာရပါသည်။ ပဋ္ဌာန်းစရပ်ဆိုသည်မှာ။ သုဓမ္မာစရပ်နှင့် တောင်ဘက် မြောက်ဘက် ကပ်လျက်ရှိသော သိမ်တော်စရပ်ကြီး ကိုဆိုလိုပါသည်။ သုဓမ္မာပဋ္ဌာန်းစရပ်သို့ ရောက်သည့်အခါ။ မန္တလေးတောင်ပေါ်သို့ မတက်ဘဲနေသူများ မှာလွန်စွာ နည်းပါးပါသည်။

ယခုဘော်ပြခဲ့သော (ဂ) အချက်မှာ။ ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းနှင့်စပ်ရှက်သောသိသာရန်ကြိယာစကားချပ် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

(ဃ) အထက်ကဘော်ပြခဲ့သည့် အရာများအတိုင်း စာသက်ခံရုံကြည့်မြင်ခွင့် ရရှိများနှင့် ကြောင်း လမ်းခြင်းမမြောက်သေးပါ။ စာလက်ခံခြင်း ကြည့်မြင်ခွင့်ရခြင်း။ အခွင့်သာပြီးနောက်။ ယောက်ျားကလေးမှာ တစုံတရာ အပြစ်ရှိမရှိ သိသာရန်တဖန်ပြန်၍။ မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က မိန်းကလေးသဘောအရ ငါဘုရားမသိ ရဘဲစစ်ဆေးစုံထောက်ပါသည်။ စစ်ဆေးစုံထောက်ပုံမှာ။ ဇာတာချင်းသင့်မသင့်။ အနာဆိုးရှိမရှိ အသိမ်အ ငယ်ထား မထား။ အကျင့်ကောင်းမကောင်းများကို စုံစမ်းခြင်းများဖြစ်ပါသည်။ သည်ကဲ့သို့ စုံစမ်းပြီးနောက်။ ရွှေသို့မဆက်မလက်ရန် ပျက်ပြယ်ခြင်းသော်ငြင်း။ ဆက်လက်ရန် အခွင့်သာခြင်းသော်ငြင်း။ တခုခုဖြစ်လာရ ပါသည်။ ယောက်ျားကလေးမှာ။ စုံထောက်ချက်ပါ တစုံတရာ အပြစ်ရှိသည့်အချက် ပေါ်ထွက်လျှင် ပျက် ပြယ်တတ်ပါသည်။ ယောက်ျားကလေးမှာ။ တစုံတရာအပြစ်မရှိသည်အရာ သိသာလျှင်။ ဆက်သွယ်ရန် အခွင့် သာပါသည်။

အခွင့်သာပုံမှာလည်း ၂မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ပထမ အမျိုးမှာ။ ကလေးချင်းချင်း တွေ့ကြုံခွင့်ရရန်နေရာ နေ့ ရက်အချိန်အချက်များကို မိန်းမကလေးထံက ပြန်ကြားမှာထားသော စကားများ စာများရရန်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ဒုတိယအချက်မှာ။ မိန်းကလေးက မိဘများအပေါ်သို့ လွှဲပုံလိုက်ခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ လွှဲပုံလိုက်ပုံမှာ။ ကျွန်ုပ်မှာအထွေအရာမရှိပါ။ လူကြီးမိဘများကိုသာသိသာအောင် ပြောကြားပါတော့ ဟူသောအခွင့်မျိုး များကိုရခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ပထမအချက်အရ အခွင့်သာသည့်အတွက် ချိန်းချက်သည်အရ တွေ့ကြုံကြသည်အခါ။ ရှေးဦးစွာ သစ္စာဆိုရပါသည်။ သစ္စာဆိုပုံမှာလည်း သုံးမျိုးရှိပါသည်။ နှုတ်လွှတ်သက် သက်ဆိုခြင်း။ ဘုရားရွှေမှာဆိုရ ခြင်း။ ကျိန်စာကို မိုင်းကိုင်းစက္ကူတွင်ရေး၍ ကျိန်စာမှာ ပါသမျှစေ့စွာ ရွတ်ဆိုပြီးမှ။ ဒီ နှင့်ရှိ၍ ပြာရေကို မြေဖလားတွင်ဖြစ်စေ။ ရွှေဖလားတွင်ဖြစ်စေ ထည့်၍ တလှည့်စီ အပြန်အလှန် ကျိန်စာကို သောက်ကြခြင်း များဖြစ်ပါသည်။ မြေဖလားမှာအသစ်ဖြစ်ရပါသည်။ မြေဖလား၏ နိမိတ်မှာ။ မြေကြီးကဲ့သို့ မြီးမြီခိုင်ခန့်စေရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ရွှေဖလား၏ နိမိတ်မှာ။ ရွှေသည်။ သုဒ္ဓဓာတ် ဖြစ်သကဲ့သို့ စင်ကြယ်စေရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ရွှေဖလား ထက် မြေဖလားကို အသုံးပြုသူမှာသာ၍ များပါသည်။ သစ္စာဆိုရပုံမှာ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ယခုသစ္စာပြုသည်ကစ၍ မိန်းမကဖြစ်လျှင်။ မည်သူမှတပါး အခြားယောက်ျားများကို။ ယောက်ျားက ဖြစ်လျှင် မည်သူမှတပါးအခြားမိန်းမများကို ရည်းစားထားခြင်း။ လက်ထပ်ခြင်းမပြုမလုပ်ပါ။ မည်သူကိုလည်း အသက်ဆုံးသည်တိုင်အောင် ကောင်းမွန်စွာပေါင်းသင်းပါမည်။ အနာဆိုးစွလည်း မာစ်ပါ။ ကျိုး ကန်း ချွန် သော်လည်းပစ်ပါ။ အကယ်၍ သစ္စာအတိုင်း တည်လျှင် ကုန်းသွား ကုန်တော့။ ရေသွား ရေဘေးသင့်၍ သေပါစေသော။ သိပေါမင်းလက်ထက်မှာ။ အသျှင်ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးဘုရားနှင့်အသျှင်နန်းမတော်ဘုရားမြင် တိုင်မုန်းပါစေသောဟု နန်းမတော်ဘုရားကို ထူး၍ ထည့်ကြပါသည်။ ရှေးထုံးစံမှာ ရှင်ဘုရင်တဦးသားပါပါ သည်။ အထူးမှတ်ရန်မှာ။ သစ္စာဆိုသည့်အခါ။ အချို့မှာ တိုပါသည်။ အချို့မှာ ရှည်ပါသည်။ သို့သော်လည်း မည်သည့်နည်းနှင့် မဆို။ လိုရင်းစကားမှာ ဘော်ပြခဲ့ပြီးသည့်အတိုင်းပင်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ကျိန်စာမှာသာသေချာ ရှည်လျားစွာထည့်ကြပါသည်။ အချို့မိန်းမကလေးများကလည်း။ ချက်ခြင်း သွေးစိမ်း သွေးနက် ပွက်ပွက် အန်၍ ရွှေတွင်သေပါစေသောဆိုမှသာ။ သာ၍ ယုံတတ်ကြပါသည်။ သစ္စာအတိုင်းတည်လျှင် နေ့ချင်းညချင်း ဆောလျင်စွာ လက်ထပ်ဖြစ်၍ စီးပွားချမ်းသာ ရတနာအပေါင်းနှင့် ပြည့်စုံပါစေသော။

ငင်းပြင်ဆက်လက်ဘော်ပြန် အနည်းငယ်ကျန်သေးသည်မှာ။ အရာရှိ ကြီးငယ် သူဌေး သူကြွယ် ကုန်သွယ် ပွဲစားမှစ၍ ဂုဏ်သရေရှိသူ လူကြီးလူကောင်းတို့၏ သွီးများမှာ။ များသောအားဖြင့်။ နန်းတော် မှာအမြီးဖြစ်စေ။ နေ့ဝင် ညထွက်ဖြစ်စေ ထားကြရခြင်းမှာ။ မြန်မာတို့၏ ထုံစံပင်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ထိုကဲ့သို့နန်းတော် တွင်ထားကြရသည် အကြောင်းရင်းမှာ။ မင်းခစားနည်း။ ဘီးလိမ်းဝတ်စားနည်း။ စကားပြောနည်းများပါအား လုံးနန်းတော်တု ရန်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ နန်းတော်တုရမှ လောကတွင် အထက်တန်းကြသည် ဟူ၍ အယူရှိကြပါ သည်။ သည်ကဲ့သို့ဘော်ပြန်သည်မှာ။ မျက်နှာကြီးသူ ဂုဏ်သရေရှိသူ ဟူသမျှတို့၏။ သားသွီးများ။ သစ္စာ ထားကြသည်အခါ ရှင်ဘုရင်ပါရသည်ကို ဘော်ဆိုပြသခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ကလေးချင်းချင်းကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း အကြောင်း ဘော်ပြချက်ပြီးပြီ။

၂။ ။ လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း အကြောင်းဘော်ပြချက်။

လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းဆိုသည်မှာလည်း။ ၂ မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ၂ မျိုးဆိုသည်ကား (က) ။ ယောက်ျား ကလေး မိန်းမကလေးတို့ တယောက်နှင့်တယောက် မကြုံမဆုံခန့်က။ မိဘချင်းချင်းသဘောတူကြောင်းလမ်း ခြင်း။ ၁ (ခ) ။ ယောက်ျားကလေးမိန်းမကလေးတို့ တွေ့မြင်ရပြီးနောက်မှ မိဘချင်းချင်းကြောင်းလမ်း ခြင်း။ ၂ မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ၂ မျိုးအနက် (ခ) အချက်မှာလည်း ၂ မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ပထမအမျိုးမှာ။ ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်ကစတင် အားထုတ်ခြင်း။ ဒုတိယအမျိုးမှာ။ မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က စတင်အား ထုတ်ခြင်းများ ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်က စတင်အားထုတ်ခြင်းအချက်မှာ။ အထက် ၁ မှတ် (က) ပိုမိုတွင်ဘော် ပြခဲ့ပြီးသည်အရ။ မိန်းမကလေးက။ မိဘများကိုသာ သိသာအောင် ပြောပါတော့ဟုလျှော့ပြီး။ မိဘများအပေါ် မှာတာဝန်ထားပြီးအချက်များမှာ။ ယောက်ျားကလေးက စတင်အားထုတ် ရပါသည်။

မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က စတင်အားထုတ်ရသည် အချက်မှာလည်း။ အထက် ၁ မှတ် (က) အပိုတွင် ဘော်ပြခဲ့ပြီးအရ။ မိန်းမကလေးကသဘောတူပြီး။ မိန်းမကလေးနှင့်ယောက်ျားကလေးတို့သစ္စာဆိုပြီးအချက် များမှာ။ မိန်းမကလေးဘက်ကစတင် အားထုတ်ရပါသည်။ စတင်အားထုတ် ရပုံကိုဆိုသော်။ ယောက်ျားက လေးဘက်က။ လာရော ခ်ကြောင်းလမ်း ပြောဆိုကြအောင် မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က နှိုးဆော်ရပါသည်။

မိန်းမကလေးက မိဘများကိုသာ သိသာအောင်ပြောပါတော့ဟု ညွှန်ပြလိုက်သော အချက်မှာ။ ကြောင်းလမ်းရန်အခွင့်မရမှီ စကားစ ရရန် ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်က ဆက်လက်အားထုတ်ရပါသည်။ အားထုတ်ရပုံမှာ။ မိန်းမကလေး ဘမိထံဖြစ်စေ။ မိန်းမကလေး၏ မိဘများအပေါ်တွင် ဩဇာရှိသူ ထံဖြစ်စေ။ မိန်းမကလေးကို ယောက်ျားကလေး ဘက်က။ လိုချင်ကြကြောင်းကို စပ်ဟပ်ရပါသည်။ သည်ကဲ့ သို့စပ်ဟပ်သည့်အခါ။ အခွင့်မသာခြင်း အခွင့်သာခြင်း တမျိုးမျိုး ကွဲပြားပါသည်။ အခွင့်မသာဆိုသည်မှာ။ စကားစပ်လာသည်ကို ၂ ကံမခံဘဲ ငြင်းပယ်လိုက်ပါသည်။ အခွင့်သာဆိုသည်မှာလည်း။ ပထမအကြိမ်အခွင့် သာခြင်း။ ဒုတိယအကြိမ်အခွင့်သာခြင်း အားဖြင့် ၂ မျိုးရှိပါသည်။ ပထမ အခွင့်သာပုံမှာ ငြင်းပယ်သည် မ ဟုတ်ဘဲ စုံစမ်းပါဦးမည်။ ဆွေမျိုးများကို တိုင်ပင်ပါဦးမည်။ ပြန်ကြားလိုက်သော စကားမျှလောက်သာ ရခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

သည်အချက်တွင်။ ဇာတာတောင်းခြင်း။ လူကလေးအကျင့် ကောင်း မကောင်း။ အနာဆိုးရှိ မရှိစုံ စမ်းခြင်း စသော။ သိသင့်သမျှသော အခြင်းအရာများကို သိရအောင်။ မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က စုံစမ်းပါသည်။ သည်ကဲ့သို့ စုံစမ်းပြီးသည်နောက်။ မဆက် မလက်ရန် ပျက်ပြယ်ခြင်းသော်ငြင်း။ ဆက်လက်ရန် အခွင့်သာ ခြင်းသော်ငြင်း။ တခုခုဖြစ်လာပါသည်။

ဆက်လက်ရန် အခွင့်သာခံလျှင်။ ကြောင်းလမ်းလာပါစေတော့ ဆိုသောအခွင့်မျိုးကို ရပါသည်။ ကြောင်းလမ်းပုံမှာလည်း။ အနည်းအကျဉ်းကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း။ အများအပြားကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း အားဖြင့် ၂ မျိုး ရှိပါသည်။

အနည်းအကျဉ်းကြောင်းလမ်းပုံမှာ။ လူ ၁၀ ယောက်ထက်မကျော်ဘဲ ကွမ်းဆေးလာဘက် အချို့ ပွဲအချဉ်ပွဲခလောက်နှင့်သာ လက်ခံစကားပြောဆို ကြခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

အများအပြားကြောင်းလမ်းပုံမှာ။ လူ ၁၀ ယောက်ထက်မကဘဲ။ မိန်းမဘက်က ဆွေကြီး မျိုးကြီး။ ယောက်ျားဘက်က ဆွေကြီးမျိုးကြီးရှိရှိသမျှ လာရောက်ကြပြီးလျှင်။ အကြီးအကျယ် ကျွေးမွေး လက်ခံစကားပြောဆိုကြခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဤအခါမှာ အချို့ပွဲလမ်းခံပုံသည်။ အချို့အငြိမ့်တို့ပါသည်။ ပွဲလမ်းဆိုသည်ကားဇာတ်ပွဲရုပ်သေး ပွဲများကိုဆိုလိုသည်။

သို့ရာတွင်။ အမှတ်တရပြုကြသည်မှာ။ လူတယ်လောက်များများ။ ဘယ်လောက်နီးနီး။ (မ) အသုံးမပြု ကြပါ။ (စုံ) သာ အသုံးပြုကြပါသည်။ ယောက်ျားဘက်ကလည်းစုံ၊ မိန်းမဘက်ကလည်းစုံ။ ၂ ဘက်ပေါင်း လည်း စုံရပါသည်။

သည်ကဲ့သို့။ အသုံးပြုကြသည်မှာ။ စုံမှသာလျှင် မင်္ဂလာရှိသည်ဟူ၍။ အယူရှိကြပါသည်။ မအသုံးပြု ခဲ့လျှင် မစုံမလင်ဘဲဖြစ်သည်အတွက် ဖော်လာနေဟူ၍။ အယူရှိကြပါသည်။ သည်ကဲ့သို့မင်္ဂလာအခမ်းအနား မှာစုံသာအသုံးပြုရသည်။ ဆိုသောအချက်ကို။ လိုက်လျောစစ်ဆေးရာ။ လောက သင်္ကေတဆိုသော စာငယ် တခုမှာလာပါသည်။ ဤစာကို ရှေးကျသည့် လူကြီးများသည် ယုံကြည်လိုက်နာကြပါသည်။

အနည်းအကျဉ်းကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းမှာ ဖြစ်စေ။ အများအပြားကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းမှာ ဖြစ်စေ။ ကုန်သမျှ စရိတ်ကို။ ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်က ခံရပါသည်။ ကြောင်းလမ်းသည့်အခါမှာ။ ကုန်ကုသောစရိတ်ကိုဖြစ် စေ။ ပေးကမ်းသော လက်ဆောင်များကိုဖြစ်စေ။ အသွင်းပစ္စည်းတွင် အပါအဝင်မှတ်ရပါသည်။ အသွင်း ပစ္စည်းဆိုသည်မှာ။ ယောက်ျားကလေး ဘက်ကသွင်းဝင်သမျှ ပစ္စည်းများကို။ အားလုံးပေါင်း၍ အသွင်း ပစ္စည်းခေါ်ပါသည်။ အချို့လည်းကြောင်းလမ်းသည့်အခါ။ ပစ္စည်းစကား တစုံတရာဘာမျှ မပြောပါ။ အချို့ လည်း ကြောင်းလမ်းစဉ်ကပင် ခန်းပင်ပစ္စည်းများကိုပြောကြားထားသူများလည်းရှိပါသည်။

လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း အကြောင်း ပြီးပြီ။

ဒုတိယအမေးနှင့် ဒုတိယအဖြေ။

(က) အမေး။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းထုံးစံကို မည်မျှလောက် အသုံးအစွဲပြုလျက်ရှိပါသေးသနည်း။
(က) အဖြေ။ ။မြန်မာရှင်ဘုရင်အဆက်ဆက်တို့ လက်ထက်များနှင့် သီပေါမင်းလက်ထက်။ နန်း ပျက်သည်တိုင်အောင် တည်ခံခဲ့ရပါက။ ၁၈၉၁ ခုနှစ်ထိအောင် အသုံးအစွဲပြုလျက်ပင် ရှိပါသေးသည်။ သို့ ရာတွင် ၁၈၉၁ ခုနှစ်က ကြောင်းလမ်းချဘူးသည်မှာ။ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ အထက်ပိုင်းတွင်မဟုတ်ပါ။ ရန်ကုန်မှ-ဖြစ် ပါသည်။ ရေနံတန်းက မိန်းမကလေးနှင့် ဘုရားဆေးတန်းကယောက်ျားကလေးကို ကြောင်းလမ်းကြပါသေး သည်။

(ခ) အမေး။ ။မကြောင်းမလမ်းမှီ လက်ထပ်ရန် ဂတိအခိုင် အမာပြုလုပ်ခြင်းရှိသလား။
(ခ) အဖြေ။ ။အချို့မှာရှိပါသည်။ အချို့မှာမရှိပါ။ ဗထမပိုင် (ဃ) မှတ်ချက်တွင် သစ္စာဆို ရပ်ကို အလုံးစုံဘော်ပြခဲ့ပြီး ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

(ဂ) အမေး။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းမှာ။ သည်ကတိမျိုးပြုလုပ်ပြီးကြောင်း။ ကြေငြာစေရုံမျှသာ ဖြစ်သေးသလား။ သို့မဟုတ် ၂ မျိုး ၂ ဘက်ပြောဆိုချက်ကို အတည်ဖြစ်စေရန် ကြောင်းလမ်းရပါသလား။

(ဂ) အဖြေ။ ။ကြေငြာစေရုံမျှသာဖြစ်သော ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းလည်းရှိပါသည်။ ၂ ဦး ၂ ဘက် ပြောဆိုချက်ကိုအတည်ဖြစ်စေရန်တာဝန်ခံရသောကြောင်း လမ်းခြင်းလည်း ရှိပါသည်။

(ဃ) အမေး။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းသည်ဆိုသည့် စကားအဓိပ္ပါယ်အရ။ ကြောင်းလမ်းသည် ဆို သည်အကြောင်းအရာမှာ တဦးကိုတဦးစုံစမ်းရန် ကလအပိုင်းအခြား ပါရှိရသေးသလား။

(ဃ) အဖြေ။ ။ကလေးချင်းချင်းကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းမှာ။ တဦးကိုတဦး စုံစမ်းရန်ကာလ အပိုင်း အခြား ထားရပါသေးသည်။

တနည်း။ ။လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းမှာ။ တဦးကိုတဦး စုံစမ်းရန် ကာလအပိုင်းအခြား ထားကြသည်ကို မတွေ့ဘူးပါ။ သို့ရာတွင်။ လက်ထပ်အခမ်းအနား လုပ်ကြမည့်ကာလ အပိုင်းအခြားကို ထားရပါသည်။ ကာလအပိုင်းအခြား ဆိုသည်မှာ။ ဝါဦးဖြစ်စေ။ သီတင်းကျွတ် ဖြစ်စေ။ ကာလအပိုင်းအခြား နှုန်းထားရပါသည်။ နေ့ရက်အချိန်မှာ နီးကပ်မှဆုံးဖြတ်ရပါသည်။ သည်အရာမှာလည်း ဗေဒင်ဆရာများပါ ရသေးသည်။

(င) အမေး။ ။သို့ဖြစ်ပါလျှင်။ ယောက်ျားကလေးသာစုံစမ်းခြင်း။ ခံရန်ဖြစ်ပါသလော။

(င) အဖြေ။ ။ကလေးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်းမှာ။ အပြန်အလှန်စုံစမ်းရန် လိုပါသည်။ လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းခြင်း တိုင်သည်အခါ။ မည်သည့်ဘက်ကမျှ စုံစမ်းသည်ကို မတွေ့ဘူးပါ။ မကြောင်းလမ်းမှီက စုံစမ်းပြီး သဘောကျပြီးမှ ကြောင်းလမ်းကြပါသည်။

(စ) အမေး။ ။ထိုပြင် မည်သည့်တက်က။ အပြီးအဆုံးသတ်သဘောတူချက်ကို ထုတ်တော် ပြောဆိုရပါသလဲ။

(စ) အဖြေ။ ။၂ တက်စလုံးကပင်အပြီးအဆုံးသတ် သဘောတူချက်ကို ထုတ်တော်ပြောဆို ရပါသည်။

ဒုတိယမြေချက် ပြီးပြီ။

တတိယအမေးနှင့် တတိယအဖြေ။

(က) အမေး။ ။ဗေဒင်ဆရာထံ ဇာတာတိုက်ခြင်း ထုံးစံသည်။ မပြုမနေရသော ထုံးစံဖြစ်သ လော။

(က) အဖြေ။ ။မပြုမနေရသလောက် အထောက်အခံပြုရသော ထုံးစံပင်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ သို့ရာ တွင်။ ဗေဒင်ဆရာကိုမပြတ်။ မိဘကိုသာပြုလည်းရှိကြပါသေးသည်။ အချို့အရာရှိများသည်။ အိမ်ထောင် ဘက်ရွေးနည်း။ နက်ကွတ်ရွေးနည်းများကို နားလည်ကြပါသည်။

(ခ) အမေး။ ။ထိုသို့ဖြစ်လျှင်။ မည်သည့်အခါ နှိုက်ဇာတာတိုက်ရပါသနည်း။

(ခ) အဖြေ။ ။လုံးလုံးမကြောင်း မလမ်းမှီသော်လည်းကောင်း။ ကလေးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်း လမ်းပြီးစမှသာသော်လည်းကောင်း။ မိဘများသိစမှသာသော်လည်းကောင်း။ ဇာတာတိုက်ကြပါသည်။ လူကြီး ချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းပြီးမှ။ ဇာတာတိုက်ကြသည်ကိုမသိပါ။ မသိဆိုသည်မှာ။ မကြားဘူး။ မတွေ့ဘူး သည်ကိုဆိုလိုပါသည်။

တတိယ မြေချက်ပြီးပြီ။

စတုတ္ထ အမေးနှင့် စတုတ္ထအဖြေ။

(က) အမေး။ ။မည်သည့်အခါ ၎င်းပစ္စည်းများကို ကန့်သတ်ပါသနည်း။

(က) အဖြေ။ ။အမျိုးမျိုးပင်ရှိပါသည်။

(ခ) အမေး။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းပြီးမှပြုလုပ်ရသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် မကြောင်းမလမ်းမှီပြုလုပ်ရသည်။

(ခ) အဖြေ။ ။အချို့မှာ လုံးလုံးမကြောင်းမလမ်းမှီပင် ခန်းဝင်ပစ္စည်း စကားပြောကြပါ သည်။ အချို့မှာ ကလေးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းသည် အခါက ပြောကြပါသည်။ အချို့မှာ လူကြီးချင်းချင်း ကြောင်းလမ်းသည်အခါကပြောကြပါသည်။ အချို့မှာဘယ်အခါမှပစ္စည်းစကားမပြောပါ။ ၎င်းကြီးလေးလေး ပစ္စည်းစကားမပြောဘဲနေလေလေဖြစ်ပါသည်။

(ဂ) အမေး။ ။ထိုပစ္စည်းများကို ယောက်ျားကသေး၏။ မိဘများကသာထည့်ရသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် ၂ ဘက်ကထည့်ရသည်။

(ဂ) အဖြေ။ ။ ၂ ဘက်ကထည့်ကြသည်ကိုသာ တွေ့ဘူးပါသည်။

(ဃ) အမေး။ ။ပသီလူမျိုးများမှာ မဟာရွှေကဲ့သို့ လက်ဝင်းတင်ရသည်ထုံးစံ။ သို့မဟုတ်။ ဆိုင်းငံ့လျက်တင်ရသည့် ထုံးစံများအလားတူတစ်ခုတည်းရှိပါသလား။

(ဃ) အဖြေ။ ။ရှိပါသည်။ခန်းဝင်ပစ္စည်းမှာ။ မဟာရွှေနှင့်အလားတူပါသည်။ ၂ ဘက် မိဘတွေကြီး မျိုးကြီးတို့က။ လက်ဖွဲ့ကြသော ပစ္စည်းများမှာ ဆိုင်းငံ့လျက် တင်ရသည်ထုံးစံ များနှင့် အလားတူပါသည်။

မင်္ဂလာကြီးတားသူတို့စရိတ်ကို။ခန်းဝင်ပစ္စည်းထဲက ခုနှိုင်းသုံးစွဲရပါသည်။မင်္ဂလာကြီးတားသည်ဆိုသည်မှာ။လက်ထပ်ပွဲပြုလုပ်မည်အခါ။ လူကလေးလာမည်လမ်းတွင် ရွှေကြိုးကိုချထားပါသည်။ ရွှေကြိုးကို ထိုလက်ထပ်ပွဲည့်လူကလေးသည် ဖယ်လည်းမဖယ်ကောင်း။ ကျော်သွားမကျော်ကောင်း။ ချရင်းသူသာ ဖယ်ရှားကောင်းသည်ဟူ၍ အယူရှိကြပါသည်။ ရွှေကြိုးချထားသူသို့ ငွေအမြောက်အမြားပေးရပါသည်။ စိတ်ကြွေလောက်မှ။ ချထားသူကဖယ်ပါသည်။ သို့ရာတွင်ရွှေကြိုးချထားသူသည်။ဆွေမျိုးလည်း ကောင်းမှ။ ငယ်လင်ငယ်မယားလည်းစုံမှ။ သားသမီးလည်းများမှ ရွှေကြိုးချခွင့်ရပါသည်။ ရွှေကြိုးဆိုသည်မှာ မြန်မာစလွယ်တွင်တပ်ထားသော သွယ်ပြောင်းခေါ်သောကြိုးမျိုးကိုဆိုလိုပါသည်။ ၎င်းသွယ်ပြောင်းမှာ များစွာ ဆက်လိုက်သော်အတော်ရှည်ရှည်ရနိုင်ပါသည်။

၎င်းပြင်စာရင်းရေးရာ၌အခါကပင်ခန်းဝင်ပစ္စည်းနှင့် လက်ဖွဲ့သောပစ္စည်းများကို ခွဲခြား၍ ရေးသားရပါသည်။ခန်းဝင်ပစ္စည်းကို ထိန်ဆုံးကတင်၍ရေးရပါသည်။ လက်ဖွဲ့ပစ္စည်းကို နောက်မှရေးရပါသည်။ စာရင်းဘတ်ကြားမှတ်သားပြီးနောက်။၎င်းပစ္စည်းများအားလုံးကို မိန်းကလေးဘက်ကသိမ်းရပါသည်။

စတုတ္ထမြေချက်ပြီးပြီ။

ပဉ္စမအမေးနှင့် ပဉ္စမအဖြေ။

— O —

(က) အမေး။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းသည်ကို အတည်ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း။ သို့မဟုတ်ပျက်သွားခြင်း။

(က) အဖြေ။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းသည်ကိုအတည်ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းမှာ။လက်ထပ်ခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ သို့မဟုတ်ပျက်သွားခြင်းမှာ လက်မထပ်ဘဲမပေါင်းရဘဲ။ နေခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

(ခ) အမေး။ ။ကြောင်းလမ်းပြီးနောက်။မည်သည့်ဘက်က ဖျက်နိုင်သနည်း။

(ခ) အဖြေ။ ။ ၂ ဘက်ကပင်ဖျက်နိုင်ပါသည်။

(ဂ) အမေး။ ။မည်သည့်အကြောင်းများကို မှီ၍ဖျက်နိုင်သလဲ။

(ဂ) အဖြေ။ ။အောက်ပါအကြောင်းများ အတွက်ဖျက်နိုင်ပါသည်။ ၁။ မိဘများ အတွက်ကြောင့်။ ၂။၎င်းပြင်ကလေး ၂ဦးအတွက်ကြောင့်ပျက်ကြပါသည်။ မိဘအတွက်ပျက်ရသည်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓကလေးငါးပါး။ရန်သူမျိုးငါးပါးများတွင်။တပါးပါး ဖြစ်လာသောအချက်ကြောင့် ပျက်နိုင်ပါသည်။ကလေး ၂ ဦး ပျက်သည်ဆိုသည်မှာ။ကြောင်းလမ်းပြောဆိုပြီးမှ တဦးကိုတဦးသဘောမကျဘဲ။ ၂ ဦးစလုံးပျက်ကြခြင်း။တဦးဦးကသဘောကလွဲကျက်တဦးကသဘောမကျဘဲ။ရှောင်သွေးလွှဲဘယ်သည်အတွက်ပျက်ကြခြင်းများရှိပါသည်။ ထိုကဲ့သို့ပျက်ပြယ်ခြင်းတွင်။အောင်သွယ်အတွက်ပျက်ပြယ်ခြင်း သည်းပါပါသည်။ အောင်သွယ်သည်အခြားသော ယောက်ျားကလေး မိန်းမကလေးများထံက တံဆိုးပနာများစွာစား၍ စပ်ကြားက ဂုံးတိုက်သည်အတွက်ပျက်ဘတ်ပါသည်။

၎င်းပြင်လည်းမိန်းကလေးများသည် ရည်းစားအထားများလျှင်ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်က ပျက်တတ်ပါသည်။ ယောက်ျားကလေးမှာ အသိမ်းအငယ်ပေါ်ပေါက်လျှင် မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က ပျက်တတ်ပါသည်။ ၎င်းပြင်ကလေးတဦးဦးသေလျှင်လည်း ပျက်ရပါတော့သည်။ ၎င်းအချက်များမှတစ်ပါး အခြားအချက်များ အတွက် ပျက်သည်ကိုကိုယ်တိုင်မတွေ့ဘူးပါ။ မသိဘူးပါ။ သို့ရာတွင် အခြားအချက်များအတွက် ပျက်ကြသည် အကြောင်းလည်းရှိကောင်းရှိလိမ့်မည်။

(ဃ) အမေး။ ။ သို့ပျက်ပါလျှင် မည်သို့အပြစ်ထိုက်ပါသလဲ။

(ဃ) အဖြေ။ ။ ပျက်တိုင်းအပြစ်မထိုက်ပါ။ မင်းအတွက်။ မိဘအတွက်။ ကလေးတဦးဦး သေသည်အတွက်။ ။ ဦးစုံသဘောတူပျက်သည်အတွက်များမှာ အပြစ်မထိုက်ပါ။ အောက်ပါအချက်များမှာသာ အပြစ်ထိုက်ပါသည်။

မိန်းမကလေးသဘောတူလျက်နှင့် ယောက်ျားကလေးက သွေရှောင်ပျက်ကွက်လျှင် အသွင်းဥစ္စာရှိသမျှကို ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်က အဆုံးခံရသည်။

ယောက်ျားကလေးသဘောတူလျက်နှင့် မိန်းမကလေးဘက်က သွေရှောင်ပျက်ကွက်လျှင် မိန်းမတကိုယ်တိုးမိန်းမကလေးဘက်က ယောက်ျားကလေးဘက်သို့ ပေးလျှော်ပေးပါသည်။ မိန်းမတကိုယ်တိုးဆိုသည်မှာ အမျိုးနီမမြင့် အလိုက် ဆုံးဖြတ်ရန် ဓမ္မသတ်များက တော်ပြပါသည်။ အနည်းဆုံး ၃၀၀၊ အများဆုံး ၃၀၀၀ ဆုံးဖြတ်ပါသည်။

သည်ကိုရည်၍ ဓမ္မသတ်များမှာလည်း ကျား သွေဆုံးသွင်း မငြင်းကိုယ်တိုး။ ။ မျိုးဘမ်။ ဂတိထားသူ ဟူ၍ စပ်ဆိုလိုက်နာလျက်ရှိပါသည်။ အဒ္ဓိသံခပ်ဓမ္မသတ်။ ။ မျိုးမြတ် အသွင်းချီသော လင်္ကာဝိဒ်ကြည့်။

အထူးတော်ပြရန်မှာ မြန်မာဓမ္မသတ်အရ မူလဂတိရှိသော အသွင်းဥစ္စာကို ကလေးချင်းချင်းလက်ထပ်ထိမ်းမြားပေးစားပြီးမှ တရားစွဲ၍ မတောင်းနိုင်ပါ။ ကြွေးငြီမဟုတ်သည်ပြင်လင် နှင့်မယားဖြစ်သည်အတွက်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ပဉ္စမ ဖြေချက်ပြီးပြီ။

U TIN.

DEPRESSED CLASSES OF BURMA.*

BY MAUNG THA KIN.

Every race on the face of the earth which was any pretension to an ancient civilisation has, in the march of its social evolution and development, firmly implanted in its footsteps the fertile growth of class and caste distinctions, created from time to time by the powerful and the predominant classes over their less fortunate brothers.

Several European writers are agreed that Burma, of all the countries in the world, is practically free from those invidious distinctions which are in vogue in other Asiatic and even European countries. The obvious reason for such opinion is that since the advent of the British there has been comparatively free social intercourse between the indigenous races of Burma and the foreign element, without any visible sign of prejudice as exhibited by other races in some form or other. The exercise of this freedom of action in their social intercourse with other races is mainly due to the influence of Buddhism.

Despite this outward appearance of free social intercourse there is a deep-rooted social organisation in Burma dividing class from class, community from community, and family from family, with no imaginary line of division, but with as strong and firm a fabric limiting and defining the boundaries of each class, community and family as any that may be found in any other part of the world. A casual visitor or a foreigner, however long his stay in the country may be, cannot possibly detect this unless and until he studies the unwritten social laws of the Burmese (in which term I include the Talaing and other indigenous races of Burma) from the view point of the native and in the perspective of a student of sociology and the psychology of the people.

To give a concrete proof of the above statement, I shall give a few instances of the observance of the social customs still obtaining in that outlying seaboard called Arakan where, owing to difficult communication with the other parts of the country, the people seem more conservative than the Burmese and have not moved an inch from the observance of social customs of bygone centuries.

In Arakan the Moslems and the Christians, being outside the pale of Buddhism, are looked upon as people unworthy of the hands of the daughters of the soil. A recalcitrant girl marrying a Moslem or a Christian is cut off entirely, without any remorse or any chance of possible reconciliation, from her own people and circle of friends. Many instances of such cases are in evidence to this day.

Half a century back a young man of good social standing who led a romantic life, went to the borderland between Arakan and Chittagong;

* This paper was read at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, on the 9th February 1923, and provoked a lively discussion.—*Ed.*

and having married a *Don* girl (of the fisherman class) settled down there for a few years. Yearning to return to his people he came back. The moment he set foot in Akyab, a man who knew of his career in the borderland, whispered to others of his union with a *Don* girl. The consequence was that all the people of the town banged their doors in his face when he came; and even his parents drove him out of the family house as they were threatened with a social ban. Nonplussed as to what was to be done, a kindly old man suggested to his parents to obtain a *Sanad* from the then ruling King of Burma exonerating him from the sin of his erstwhile union with an outcaste. His people had to spend many thousands of rupees and ultimately obtained the necessary *Sanad*. Thereafter his parents had to invite every male member of the town and the suburbs and the countryside near by and treat them to a substantial feast, the young man sitting at the same table with the others of his age and social standing after he was washed with *ganga* (river) water, white robed and purified by the Ponnas (Brahmans), and after formally asking for and obtaining the pardon of the whole assembly. Thereafter a long smoking pipe from which he smoked first was served round to every one of the assembly. Thus the young man was ceremonially taken back into the fold.

The *Dons*, *Thinchis*, *Harces* and *Haras* of Arakan are considered as untouchables, and any kind of social intercourse with any of them is punished with such severity that none has ever dared to exceed the bounds limited by the unwritten Code of Social Laws from time immemorial.

On another occasion, in the eighties of the last century after King Thibaw was dethroned, the *Thinchis*, who are pagoda slaves dedicated from time to time to the religious shrines by the ancient Kings of Arakan, and who count among their number many landed proprietors, petitioned the Commissioner of Arakan, mentioning the artificial division created by the ancient kings of Arakan and Burma and the plight in which they were placed in the social scale, and asked him to help them to remove the artificial stigma and to obtain for them the same social standing as the rest of the people. The Commissioner feeling a great commiseration for them convened a meeting of the elders of the town and asked them to take the petitioners back into their society. The elders came back feeling greatly insulted, without making any reply to the Commissioner, and got together all the young and the old, held a meeting and passed resolutions to adhere rigidly to their ancient custom and never to take back the outcastes into their society; they even made hasty secret preparations in the same night to sharpen swords and lances with the obvious intention of breaking into open rebellion in the event of an association with the outcastes being thrust upon them against their will. The Commissioner, being informed of the chaos created by him and realising the false step he had taken, employed all the resources at his command to pacify the people.

I now come to the midlands of Burma stretching from Sandoway to the Salween and from Prome to Pegu.

Lower down, the social customs have become lax and flexible; but in the midlands the same social customs are observed as in the bygone days. Take for instance the town of Yandoon, where the opposite bank, called Yanginsanya, is reserved for fishermen alone. The *Kèbasu*, which is situated at a respectable distance at one extreme end of the town, is kept apart for the *Sandalas*. The division of the quarters was made from time immemorial, and the lands outside the limit of the allotted quarters have never been known to have been openly or secretly encroached upon. In the nineties of the last century a fisherman, by dint of his strenuous savings, became rich and bought a house in the town proped and occupied it. On the very night of his occupation stones and bricks bats of all shapes and dimensions were thrown at his house. The raining of the missiles was so severe that the doors and windows were smashed into splinters. The rich fisherman was thus made to move back into his former quarters again.

In the midlands, as elsewhere among the upper and middle classes, when marriages are arranged the antecedents of both contracting parties and their families are thoroughly investigated in order to find out whether any incurable diseases, such as leprosy and consumption, were at any known period present in the other family and whether that family is pure, that is, untainted with any social degradation. These formalities having been gone through and both parties being satisfied, a date is chosen and the marriage celebrated on the auspicious day. Therefore it must not be supposed that in the upper and middle classes in Burma the marriages are of random selection. Under no circumstances will a person who has any self respect or any pretension to a good social standing, marry another of a degraded social status for the sake of money or for any other consideration. Otherwise, his fellows would not tolerate his presence in their social gatherings.

There is no denying that the *Dons* (fishermen), the *Harees* (washer-men and barbers), *Haras* (sweepers), *Thinchis* or *Paya alhes* or *Payakyuns* (pagoda slaves), *Khwas* (people who live on the offerings to shrines), *Kyaungkyuns* (monastery slaves), *Kèbas* (beggars), *Sandalas* or *Thubayazas* (grave-diggers), and people who follow certain despised trades and professions such as hunters, butchers, actors, intoxicating drug-sellers and midwives, are looked down upon as untouchables, and they are absolutely debarred from taking any part in all social functions of the respectable classes; and therein the caste system among the Burmans, which is undreamt of by other races and foreigners who live side by side with the Burmese, is as rigidly enforced by the respectable classes as by the Brahmans towards the Chandals and Panchamas of India.

Most of the said untouchables are purely victims of circumstances or accident of birth, inasmuch as the forbears of the *Harees*, *Haras*, *Thinchis* pagoda slaves and beggars were cut off from the rest of the respectable

classes by Royal Order of the various ancient Kings of Burma inscribed in most cases on marble slabs which may be seen to this day at almost all the renowned shrines of Upper Burma. Some were dedicated by the Kings, some by the Queens, some by the princes and princesses, and some by rich noblemen and merchants, for the express purpose of looking after the religious shrines to which they were dedicated.

Among these unfortunates may be found the descendants of ancient monarchs taken prisoner during the wars waged for dominion, suzerainty or loot by ancient kings of Burma; descendants of King Manuha of Thaton, of the kings of Siam, of the Maharajas of Manipur and Assam and of Nawabs of Eastern Bengal. From amongst these the members of theatrical troupes, marionette companies and musicians of the last century were recruited.

Down to the last century the Burmese laws countenanced the possession and acquisition of slaves. Buying and selling of men and women, pledging and mortgaging of wives and children, were the order of the day in Burmese times. The slaves were called *Kyun* and their children and children's children bore the nomenclature of *Thabauk* and *Thadet* respectively. The slaves were the chattels of their master or overlord; but not necessarily their descendants, whose position depended on the conditions of the contract whereby the first ancestor became the serf. The blessings of British Rule brought in its train individual liberty and freedom and was solely responsible for the wholesale compulsory liberation of the slaves of Burma.

Before concluding this essay I may mention that there is a distinct class of people called *Thagaungs* (spelt *Thugaung*), whose home is in the Minbu District and who keep their class distinct from other classes. They do not condescend to marry any of the classes of commoners; they intermarry, as a rule, among themselves only. They are self-contained, scrupulously honest, rich and very conservative. Even the Burmese Kings looked upon them as a pure caste and honest people, and honoured them as belonging to an unbroken line of ancient families of noblemen.

Caste systems and distinctions everywhere are despicable; but it must be conceded that the unfortunates of the said untouchable classes are, in the majority of cases, so steeped and sunk in the mire of degradation and mean upbringing and association that they themselves consider that there is no hope of their redemption; and that their life is a curse and a burden. While they remain in the land of melancholy, disappointment and pessimism, the wide world would roll on till perhaps doomsday without any thought being given by the more fortunate classes to an organised effort for their uplift from the mire into which they have fallen.

Fortunately for the *Thinchis* of Arakan, the following press communiqué was published by the Government in the Rangoon Gazette of the 25th December 1922. "It has come to the notice of the Local Government that there exists in the Akyab District a section of the inhabitants

commonly referred to as *Thinchers*, who are generally held to be descended from persons sentenced by the former rulers of Arakan to suffer social degradation as a punishment for political offences. This degradation is said to have taken the form of dedication as slaves of pagodas and other religious edifices. Their present day descendants have, however, for several generations earned their livelihood as agriculturists and petty traders, and are no longer employed in the service of any pagoda or other religious building. They are in fact in no way distinguishable from other Arakanese Buddhists, and no distinction between them and other Arakanese Buddhists is recognised by the Arakanese Buddhist monks. Some have migrated to other districts and have been absorbed into the general population.

“Nearly two hundred years have elapsed since the *thinchees* were condemned to this punishment, and any offence which their forefathers may have committed must be held to have long been expiated. The British Government, as the successor of the Kings of Arakan, is therefore pleased to cancel the sentence of social degradation and to proclaim that all disabilities which the *thinchees* now suffer shall be deemed to be annulled.”

This proclamation will help the *Thinchis* to regain their lost social status; but the process will be very slow as the respectable classes, as distinguished from the degraded classes, are not likely to accept the proclamation in place of the time honoured custom. Perhaps it may take another two centuries or more to admit of their complete absorption in the respectable classes. It is true that the Sangha of Burma, unlike the Sangha of Ceylon, makes no distinction between classes; but the laymen are imbued with ancient ideas; the Brahmanic tendency has taken a firm root in them, and for that reason the Government proclamation will not, I am afraid, help to ameliorate their condition to an appreciable extent, even at the present day when the outcry against caste systems is proclaimed on the house-tops in India and elsewhere.

But let us hope with enthusiasm, and try to blot out henceforth the remnants of the ancient despotism and superstitions, which were most probably imported from India in an unknown and now forgotten period, from our fair land of pagodas and from the memory of the modern liberal-minded sons of Burma.

MAUNG THA KIN

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

Georgics.—1.*

Maung Tun Nyein, of Wingyan Village Patheingyi Township Mandalay District, works six acres of hot weather paddy land. His holding is called Welsā (Pig-eating), and is divided into three blocks running south and north. When he harrows, transplants, or reaps his fields, he starts at the south and finishes at the north. When he harrows the south block he employs four yoke of cattle. He cooks five pounds of rice and three and a half pounds of pork and divides the resultant curry and rice into four portions. The four yoke start from the four corners of the block and drive towards the centre, the men carrying the curry and rice. Having met in the centre, the men leave the animals head to head and repair to the field embankment, where they eat the curry and rice. They may not invite anyone else to share their meal, but if any one offers to do so they may not refuse him. The prayer used when the meal is offered is as follows; "To thee, O Sovereign Lady, we offer this food and drink. Take us, thy humble servants, under thy especial care. Turn the winds aside and make the heavens to open. Keep far off all kinds of evil which may harm our crops." When he plants this block Maung Tun Nyein makes a figure of a woman with grass, and arrays it with a plait of hair flowing loose and a short jacket with wide sleeves. He throws a scarf round its neck, dresses it in a skirt, and decks it with gold bracelets, a gold neck chain and silver anklets. He provides a stone for grinding face powder, a mirror, a comb, a cup of hair oil, and a cup of face powder ready ground. He dips a sprig of willow in the face paste, and sprinkles the figure of the spirit maiden with it. In the middle of the field he sets a kerosene oil tin to represent a palace building after making a hole in the top, washing it with lime, and putting a plank underneath for it to rest upon. In the north west corner of the block at the end of the field embankment he makes a platform of mud in two stages. On the upper stage he puts the image of the spirit maiden with the ornaments etc. described above. On the lower stage he puts a bunch of plantains, some tea and betel nut, with a feast, offered as a token of respect, consisting of fried fish with the scales on, red and white fried cakes, and a platter of cooked rice. The prayer used is in terms similar to those used when starting to harrow. After the prayer has been said the feast and eatables are divided among the planters and their leader. The clothes and ornaments, the comb mirror and grinding stone, are taken away by Maung Tun Nyein the same day. It is not the custom to make an offering at harvest. No offering is made in respect of the middle block. When the north block is planted a mud image of a mendicant is

* This note is a translation of a statement made to the author by a cultivator.—Ed.

made about eighteen inches long. A piece of cotton cloth is slung over its shoulder as though to carry a begging bowl. A rosary is placed in the right hand of the figure which is put on the upper part of an earth platform on the southern field embankment, with its face turned to the east as though it was eating an alms offering. An alms offering is prepared and placed on the lower part of the earth platform. The prayer used is the same as that used in the south block, with the substitution of the words Sir Mendicant for Sovereign Lady.

H. F. S.

Bhamo fifty years ago.

Before me are three interesting letters written from Bhamo forty-nine years ago, by Dr. Francis Mason, the great Karen scholar, well known in Burma a generation ago. The letters were written for the A. B. M. Magazine, and give a most interesting view of Bhamo and this part of Burma half a century back. They are dated November 24th 1873; December 6th 1873; and January 30th 1874. Before the last letter was in print Dr. Mason had passed away, but he did a great deal to arouse interest in this part of Burma. The letters are too long to give in full, but a few extracts will I am sure be of interest to all who have in one way or another been connected with Bhamo and especially Kachinland.

Dr. Mason in common with most scholars in those days, looked upon the Kachins as a part of the Karen race. It is from this view-point that he calls attention to the importance of Bhamo for the Karen historian. He says, "Bhamo is the earliest bit of solid ground we have on which to found Karen history, and the locality furthest north of which we have reliable testimony that they were ever denizens: all beyond is tradition, inference or conjecture." In proof of the above Dr. Mason in speaking of the "*Antiquities of the Place*" refers to Bhamo as being mentioned in two old Bghai Karen poems; they speak of going to Bhamo to buy a *dah*, and he quotes Dr. Anderson, who in 1871 described Bhamo and surroundings and particularly mentioned the *dah* industry among the Chinese Shans. Again he says, "Bhamo occurs in some of the Bghai myths as the principal Burma town with which they were acquainted, just as Toungoo is to them now. God is represented as sending "The Gupaia to Bhamo" to call the Burmans who came to him, and

"Receive extraordinary power to variegate cloth
To weave beautifully as the Python's skin,
And to have rice-crops three times a year;
And they became great and returned to Bhamo".

From these traditions Dr. Mason is inclined to believe that the Karens originally inhabited some of the mountains now held by the Kachins. "They were probably driven out of this country by the inroads of the more powerful KaKhyen tribes". Dr. Mason is wrong in

these conclusions. The Kachins came in contact with the Palawngs, Shans and Burmans, but that, very much earlier, migrations had taken place is beyond doubt. That among these migrating tribes some were Karens, is not at all improbable.

Again, Dr. Mason finds in the movements of the Karens from the north, the "*Source of their Scripture Traditions*." "It is in no way remarkable," he says "that the Karens should have Biblical truths mixed up with their traditions when we contemplate them as inhabitants of these northern regions. In A. D. 1651, Yunlie, a fugitive emperor of China, was in Bhamo with 600 of his nobility, many of whom were Christians." He quotes Gutzaff as saying that the emperor, his queen, his son and many of his court had been baptised. Yunlie remained in Burma 11 years, spending most of his time in and around Sagaing. Thus Christianity is not a new thing in Burma. Even as early as A. D. 878 we are told that Christians, Mohammedans, Jews and Parsees were found in western China. The theory that many of the Karen traditions were handed down from this source is very attractive, to say the least.

Regarding the "*History of Bhamo*" Dr. Mason says that very little is known. "Of the time when it was founded no record is known. It is only known that the Dutch and English companies had trading establishments here more than two centuries ago; but they quarrelled, and the Burmans drove both out of the country, which missionary societies will do well to lay to heart"—this last warning in view of the fact that Bhamo was shortly to become the field for three missionary societies, the Baptist, Roman Catholic and China Inland Mission. But as Dr. Mason correctly surmises, the present Bhamo is not the place where the Dutch and English factories did their work. That place was up the Taping river a few miles from the modern town.

In regard to the "*Commerce of the Place*" we find little that we do not see to day. There was only one steamer a month. It came up towing two large flats loaded with cotton, destined for export on back of mules two bales to one animal, to the independent Shan States and China. In this line Bhamo has made no progress in fifty years. The muleteer is still with us. Among the passengers were over a hundred Chinese, some opium smokers; several Chinese gentlemen took first class cabins; one was reported a prince. Another was a "very pretty Chinese woman who came from Canton to Rangoon by sea, and is now going back over land". We wonder that a woman could take such a trip in those days. It is not tried very often now. The Chinese gentlemen could not speak Burmese. Some had come from Talifoo on a political mission to the British Government, and they were taking back with them, among other presents, a small telescope that they did not know how to use but regarding the mystery of which Dr. Mason gave the necessary instruction.

"*Character of the Kachins*". Dr. Mason like every other traveller was interested in the Kachins. He says of them, "I made my first acquaintance with the KaKhyens last evening, some few miles below Bhamo,

where we found some mixed up with the Shan traders on a sandbank where the steamer stopped. The Shans are nearly all armed, and so were some of the KaKhyens. One was swaggering about with a flint musket on his shoulder, and a sword more than a yard long dangling by his side. Both Burmans and Europeans represent them as the greatest of savages. Every now and then they come down from their mountains like birds of prey, and ravage and destroy the unfortunate Burmese villages that incur their resentment". Dr. Mason however was no globetrotter and understood human nature. He made friends with the Kachins and found out what others have found that "There was not the slightest appearance of savages about them. On the contrary, generalising from this specimen, I should say that they were a good-natured quiet people." He of course thinks that they are really Karens: "had we seen them in British Burma we should have unhesitatingly pronounced them Karens". Dr. Mason no doubt realised when he began the study of the Kachin language that the Karens and the Kachins are further apart than the Kachins and the Burmans.

The short description he gives of landing in Bhamo is full of interest. He says, "Early in the forenoon we sighted the high bluffs of Bhamo with its houses almost overhanging the cliff, its Chinese town at one end, its pagodas and Burmese at the other, and the English flag flying at the British residency beyond both. Mr. Cooper, the distinguished traveller in China and Thibet, the political agent, followed up a kind invitation to come to the residency, by meeting us on board the steamer. We are now enjoying the hospitality of his mansion which cost fifteen-thousand Rupees to build."

That Bhamo was not so very backward in those days several extracts from the letters show. It was a stockaded town not so widely scattered as now. They lived more or less in fear of the Chinese and the Kachins. When Dr. Mason called on the Myo Won, the governor of the province, with power of life and death in his hand, he showed the influence of the English upon him; he received the missionary like an English gentleman coming out of his room to meet him, shaking hands. The people in the bazaar presented the same variations that we see to-day, except that there were few natives of India.

Dr. Mason through his study of Kachin and Shan became one of the first to plead for schools and books for the people up here. He could not have foreseen the great strides Upper Burma and particularly Kachin land would take along these lines. In many ways we find that Upper Burma is the same as fifty years ago, but in other respects we see the great change, we hope for the better.

O. HANSON.

The Hermit and the Siren.

“The hermit and the siren” is the favourite subject of Maung Po Sein’s plays. He is in a class by himself in playing the role of a hermit, and the ability with which he performs this difficult part has added greatly to his fame as Burma’s premier actor. The scene is usually laid away from the haunts of civilization :

‘A little lowly hermitage it was,
Downe in a dale, hard by a forests side.’

The element of surprise comes in when the hermit meets the siren in a most unexpected manner :

“ He on the tender grass would sit
And hearken ev’n to ecstasy,”

and finding that he cannot withstand the bewitching charm of her voice or beauty, as the case may be, reverts to the mundane world, after ‘sixty years of religious reverie and anchoritish self-denial.’

‘The most perfect hermits’ says Gibbon, ‘are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep and many years without speaking.’ We know that a hermit dwells alone in a solitary place, for religious meditation or from a desire to avoid the temptations of the world. He seeks holiness through self-mortification. Both a hermit and a monk lead the life of a recluse, and the common couplet ‘ရသေ့ရတနိး’ meaning an ascetic, is no misjoinder. The object of asceticism was to control and subdue the bodily nature with its passions and desires as the stronghold of evil inherent in man, the means used being fasting, celibacy, poverty, penance and solitude. Even greater austerities have been practised under the influence of the idea that matter is essentially evil and that an approach to ideal good or an escape from the evils of existence can be effected only by subduing the body. A higher degree of sanctity is thus cultivated, and ‘when the mind is warmed with heavenly thoughts, and wrought up into some degrees of holy ecstasy, it stays not there, but communicates these impressions to the body.’ This is on the authority of Bishop Atterbury’s sermons. But Buddhism goes a step further and invests the hermit, in his ethical perfection, with the power of flight in the air above or through subterranean vaults below. So intense is the overpowering emotion or exaltation in which the mind is absorbed.

In *Wethandaya Pyo* a hermit is described as person wearing coarse cloth made from fibrous bark, with braided hair tied round the head and limp panther-skin on the left shoulder : (ဆွတ္တလူဝတ် လဲချွတ်လျှော်တေးဆံခွေတုန် ထုံးဘယ်ဝန်းတွင်းတင်တုံးမြိန်မြေ၊ သန်နက်ရေနှင့်။)

In *Mahājanaka Pyo* the description is fuller. In addition to the above, he carries a yoke and sling, a smooth staff and a leather rug ; he

is famous for his magical powers and engaging himself in ecstatic meditation flies about in the air. (ဆံ့ကုန်းစွန်း၊ လျော်သက်န်းနှင့်၊ ဆိုင်းဝန်းဆင့်ပိုး၊ တံဘိုးသုံး
ကောက်၊ လက်ထောက်လေ၊ ချောမြေ့မြေ့သားတောင်ဝေ့အပူ၊ ခင်းထနေရန်၊ စမ္မဇက်လည်း၊ အမှန်ဆောင်ဘု၊ သစ်
နက်ရေနှင့်၊ မူလေမူလ၊ ဘာဂုဏ်တို့၊ ကျော်နွံသိလျက်၊ ချွံအရာ၊ စိန္တေယျာဟု၊ ချမ်းသာအကျော်၊ ဖျာန်နှင့်ပျော်သည်။ မိုး
ပေါ်ပျံ့လှေရှင်ရသော။)

The hermit's helmet, which we see so often in a modern drama, is nowhere mentioned in the ancient writings and seems to be quite a recent innovation.

When contemplation (Jhāna) is practised and the fifth and final stage, known as Abhiññāna, reached, an uncommon degree of extraordinary attainments is experienced and his body becomes spiritualised to an extent which enables him to travel from place to place by an aerial route. There are six causes, viz., lust, anger, stupor, anxiety, doubt and ignorance, which might tend to deprive the hermit of supernatural powers, and he must exercise the utmost rigour to make himself temptation proof.

Force of temptation is well brought out in the following line sung by Maung Po Sein about 15 years ago even before he employed the hermit plot :— (တို့လိုလူဆိုထားနှင့်၊ ဂုဏ်များတောင်ဖျာန်ရှောင်တယ်။) which means 'Leave aside laymen like us, even a hermit would drop from his flight.' He wanted to convey, by these flattering words, a sense of the great beauty possessed by his lady-love and the bewitching charm which even a devout eremite could not withstand. A similar conception have we in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (Act 2 line 23) :

'This goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph,

This siren, that will charm Rome's Saturnine.'

This song of Maung Po Sein's which was popular then as 'Swanee' is to-day set a burning curiosity in the heart of an amateur researchist. 'What was the source of these expressive words?' was the question that naturally occurred to him and taking up the research spade he started digging the hidden mines of lore. The first find unearthed was the following passage in Saya Kin's *Neikbeinda Tawla* (a poem on Renunciation) in which the recluse muttered in despair that 'he did not feel as strong as when he first betook himself to the lonely wood, since he found he was unable to surmount the mountainous barrier of lust, which blocked his path and blinded him in its entire darkness' :— (အရညဝါ၊ ဌာနာ၊ ကြင်စွာလောက်၊
တဝင်မှာနောက်လှ၊ မြင်တာလောက်မစွမ်း၊ ကျန်ခါးမင်းကြ၊ အစွမ်းငါးရာ၊ တောင်ကြီးအတိ၊ မှောင်ဆီး၍ပိတ်၊ ကိ
လေသာ။)

Further on in the same poem a splendid thought is couched in forceful language :— (တကဲ့ပရမော၊ မနိန္ဒြိ၊ မမြင်၍ရှိတာဖြင့်၊ အကိညိသံဝေဠေတို့တောင်၊ ဖျာန်မြေပြင် လျော
ရသည်။)

It may be paraphrased thus :— 'If the mind is not well concentrated even a saintly hermit would lose his supernatural powers.'

U Poññya in *Wizaya Pyazal*, a drama, puts the words (ရဟန္တာ ဖျာန်ပျံ့ပိုး၊
ခံနိုင်ဝါရှိလား။) in the mouth of *Mē Kuwun*, the disguised ogress, who in

self-sufficiency asks 'Is he a flying saint to be able to resist (my wiles and blandishments)?' Here, a 'flying saint' stands for a 'miraculous hermit.'

Twinthin Mingyi U Tun Nyo, the famous bard, who bore the double title of 'Mahā Thinkhaya' and 'Mahā Sithu', furnishes us with an exquisite passage in his *Mudulakkhana Pyo*, an epic of no mean order. It runs as follows :—(ယုဂ်ဇာတိသုခိတစ၊ နိတိကြာသး။ အမုဒ္ဒဇော်လော်၊ ခုသေကျော်လည်း။ မတော်စွာကြို၊ စကွာရုံကြောင့်၊ ငါးစုံမြတ်စော၊ (သုန္ဒရီလောကီ)၊ the substance of it being that 'the hermit of great renown lost his power of flight through an unchaste sight.' The hermit, who was an embryo Buddha, by mischance saw the naked form of Queen Mudulakkhana in its pristine beauty and was crushed with carnal craving. This is taken from one of the birth stories of the Buddha. The other birth stories dealing with the 'hermit and the siren' are to be found in Takka, Cūḷapalobhāna, Mahāpalobhāna Haritaca and Lomakathapa Jātakas. The material is the same, only the setting differs.

'Fair tresses man's imperial race insnare,

And beauty draws us with a single hair'

says Pope very truly in 'Rape of the Lock.' The hermit's downfall is encompassed, and he descends into the lower plane of secular life. In the glorious splendour of court-life he enjoys a regular round of pleasures. If he cared for any solitude again it would be of a different sort, and with Byron one would rather exclaim :—

'By solitude I mean a sultan's, not

A hermit's, with a harem for a grot.'

The anchorite in 'Talisman' was one who had firm conviction in the belief that 'virtue is its own reward' and acted up to it. So, too, was the hermit, who founded *Yathemyo*, six miles from modern Prome, the adoptive-father of *Bedayi*. Stories have been woven round the topic of escapades by monks and nuns, as a result of their frequent familiarity. U Lat's *Subēbin Wuttu* treats of the same theme. These are not uncommon affairs and volumes have been published in different climes and different ages. 'A court does some man no harm, when another finds temptation in a hermitage.' That one should rather face and overcome temptation would not be a perilous paradox. You may even be inclined to fall in with the Stoic who enjoins that 'If thou see a beautiful person, thou wilt find a faculty for that—namely Self-Mastery. If toil is laid upon thee, thou wilt find the faculty of Perseverance. If thou art reviled, thou wilt find Patience. In making this thy wont, thou shalt not be carried away by appearances.' Yet, Homer chants, with due caution,!

Next where the sirens dwell you plough the seas!

! their song is death and ! makes destruction please.

A. T.

Letwethondara's Poem—A continuation.

I read U Po Byu's illuminating notes on Letwethondara's poem (Vol: VII Part I April 1917) with much interest after I had written my notes on the first 3 verses of the same poem (Vol XII Part I April 1922.)
 * I give my further explanatory notes on the fifth and sixth verses.

5th Verse.

နေဝန်းဖန်ဝါ means လင်းဝင်းသောအရောင်, bright colour; ခေါ်တာဝတ္ထုဟောသနီကျမ်း (အဝ) yellow. A bright golden colour. (ထိန်) ကြောလည်းထိန် လင်းထိန်သည်။ တောက်ထိန်သည်။ To shine, brilliant. Read နဝရတ်စိန်ဝင်းသျှထိန်။ ရောင်ရှိန်ကိုလည်းနသတ်မည်။ "Thanpauk Thatpon." ကြော from Sanskrit ကြတ် စက္ကဝါ Pali စက္က သဒ္ဓါ—မဏ္ဍလအနက် pronounced (အဝန်း) To be round, circular. Refers to the sun (ကြော) Here means တန်ခိုး super-power အစွမ်း (သတ္တိ) အား energy, force; *predicating* နေဝင်း။ In this connection U Peo Byu takes the word ထိန် to suggest West Island. It is the name of a tree. However it is spelt ထိမ် with a သတ် (ထိမ်ပင်) Read အနက်အတိမ်။ ဣယ့်ဝှက်ထိမ်။ ထိမ်ပင်ကိုလည်းသတ်မည်။ "Thatpon".

အာကာသိတ်စီးကျွန်းလုံးညီးမျှ။ Here ခိတ် should be written with ဓ and not ဘ ဖိတ် means to spill over စီး to flow ဖိတ်စီး overflow, The word ဖိတ် if taken in another sense ဖိတ်ဖိတ် glittering အရောင် ဖိတ်ဖိတ်တောက်သည်။ Read အရောင်ဖိတ်ဖိတ်။ လူဝိတ်။ ဖိတ်စည်ကိုလည်းတသတ်မည်။ "Thatpon". ကျွန်းလုံးညီးမျှ။ ညီး having the same meaning as ညီး in ထိန်ပြောင်ညီးသည်။ ညီးညီးတောက်သည်။ to be dazzling. Dazzle means to strike or surprise with brilliancy. မျှ as much as. ညီးမျှသည်။ မသာမလျော့ညီး။ ညှတ်ခြင်း အနက် to be even. Reading the whole sentence နေဝန်းဖန်ဝါ X X ကျွန်းလုံးညီးမျှ The poet refers to the brightness of the sun whose rays spill over the sky streaming, and thereby lighting the whole of "Zambudipa Island".

In spite of the spelling, if ထိန် is taken to suggest West Island and a declining sun [to be dyed crimson in the setting sun] ထိန်ကြော, we cannot expect it to be shining evenly all over "Zambudipa". See ကျွန်းလုံးညီးမျှ

Again if we take ထိန် to mean brilliant, there would be a repetition of the same sense brightness နေဝါ *supra*. It is therefore inexpedient to place ထိန် in the sentence, because it has no bearing upon the poem. My text, however reads ရှေ့ကြောလည်း "မဟာဓမ္မဗျူဟာ။"

6th Verse.

နေ့ကျွန်းသန်ကာ။ ချိန်ခါကို။ If ကာ is used in the sense of "time" from Pāli ကာလ, a consideration of ချိန်ခါကို would only lay the poem open to the charge of redundancy. I personally think that since သန် meant Pāli သန္တ the rains, ကာ is an abbreviation from "Porāṇa" နံကာ meaning ဝါခေါင်လ။ If this is taken as the correct meaning, the following reading regarding the above would be appropriate: "At this time of the year in the month of Wagoung, when the rains have set in after summer has run out." Moreover, the VI verse alludes to the gathering of the pious people သီတင်းအလှူ in the Kyaungs during Lent. This strengthens our belief that ကာ stands for နံကာလ-ဝါခေါင်လ— Read ခွါဒသရာသီ။ ထိန်ခြေမိုးဥာန်။ လစီမာန်နှင့်။ ဘုရင်ကနကွတ်။ ပြည့်မှတ်အညီ။ သိမ်ရာသီဟု။ ခတ္တရိကတ္တရာ။ ပင်တိုင်းဝါလျက်။ နံကာဆန်းစ။ ဝါခေါင်လကာ။ X X ဝတ္ထုရတတာရတနာကြေးမုံန။

KYIN HAN.

Letwethôndara's Poem.

My article on the above subject evoked two further articles in an issue of the Burma Research Society's Journal (Volume XII, Part I).

I was familiar with the dictionary meaning of the word "clear-cut". Otherwise I should not have used "clearly defined" in my comments. But out of a number of expressions open to a translator, Mg. Ba Han selected "clear-cut" and I thought he was influenced by the word ဝဏ် to cut or notch". Mg. Ba Han wanted to convey the idea that the river appears more distinct in outline by contrast with the surrounding forest. Has he ever seen a river in a thick forest? Our experience is that a river is often lost even in an ordinary forest. There is a danger of over-literal translation of words given without entering into the spirit of the poem.

2. Mg. Ba Han took exception to two of my numerous strictures. I suggested ဝဏ်သံထွန်းတိ for တံတံထွန်းတိ as more in keeping with the sense of the rest. It was quite possible and probable for scribes to have confused ဝ or ဘ with ဝ in copying manuscripts. This possibility is conclusively proved a little further on by U Kyin Han still reading (တံတံထွန်းတိ) instead of ဝဏ်သံထွန်းတိ. Now who will decide which is correct? The sense alone could be the arbiter in such cases. My suggestion was perfectly natural and rational. But Mg. Han was surprised at the absence of textual proof. In the absence of the author's original manuscript, what textual proof would be of avail? What Mg. Ba Han wanted was that I should have quoted some other authors using the expression, ဝဏ်သံထွန်း. But if I could not find another author describing the formation of shoals and sand-banks in a river under similar circumstances, I simply made a clever guess. It was not necessary for me even to quote a very common expression နေတံသံထွန်း. Why should I judge Letwethondara who is a genius by any other standard? A genius is unique. Why make him plagiarise others? Now if Mg. Ba Han were to look for Shakespearian expressions in lesser lights that preceded the immortal author he might be doing a bit of historical research. But if he could not find what he wanted, he would not be justified in accepting what is a palpable and obvious misreading in print or manuscript. Where is the literary sense of Mg. Ba Han, if he would not judge a genius by his (the genius') own standard? Now let us examine the textual apparatus relied on by Mg. Ba Han for a model of our genius. In all citations in which ဝဏ်သံထွန်း occurs the word ထွန်း means "to shine" and has nothing to do with ထွန်း—"to form shoals and sand-banks" as in the previous sentence of the second stanza of the poem. The particle လည်း "also" in ဝဏ်သံထွန်းလည်း denotes a comparison and not a contrast. The author compared a river with a river. There is no object in contrasting a river with a forest or a mountain for the matter of that. Why has Mg. Ba Han discarded his own textual apparatus and hugged a false mistress? ဝဏ်သံထွန်း means "shoals and sand-banks are formed under the

poet's own eyes", while သပ်သပ်ထွန်း means "shoals etc. are formed *anew*." If the poet plagiarised the archaic ထပ်ထပ် from another author the expression was redundant; for he was describing what he actually saw. But if he used သပ်သပ်, he conveyed an additional idea that such formations in rivers yearly change. Is Mg. Ba Han not aware of the shifting character of shoals, etc? Which of these two alternatives was more likely with a genius? Even assuming that ထပ်ထပ် is a correct reading, ထွန်း does not refer to (မဲဇာမြစ်) but to (သံသာသောင့်မြစ်) understood. The poet was reminded of the lower regions of his own river by the formation of similar shoals and sand banks in the Mèza river. No *sharp* definition, no contrast entered the poet's mind. The poem was more emotional than intellectual, as the poet was carried away by his passions and feelings. The poet spoke a plain truth,

3. As regards ဆီးတုံ့ or ဆည်းတုံ့, whatever may be the derivation of ဆီး or ဆည်း the ultimate derivation will remain more or less speculative. For instance U Kyin Han a few pages further on derives ဆည်း from archaic ဆည်းဆာ 'dusk' which is from Pali ဆဉ္စာ သဉ္စာ—'evening'. We have only to see whether a derivation is reasonable or probable for tentative acceptance or rejection. The two quotations of Mg. Ba Han are against himself. He admits that ဆည်းတုံ့ means "silent", but he refuses to see that ဆီး and ဆည်း are interchangeable in elementary Burmese phonetics. He admits the possibility of Letwèthondara himself writing ဆည်းတုံ့ in his original manuscript. But the script before him gives ဆီး

Does not this in itself prove the interchangeability of ဆည်း as written by the author and ဆီး as copied by scribes or *vice versa*? But with ဆီးတုံ့ given in the textual apparatus before him, Mg. Ba Han must render it "snow-smeared" because he has not yet found another textual apparatus in which ဆီးတုံ့ is used in the same sense as ဆည်းတုံ့

Has it never occurred to him to reconcile his expression "snow-smeared" with U Po Byu's southerly breeze in Kason, the driest of dry months"? Both Maung Tin and Mg. Ba Han rendered the expression alike. The former's case however was excusable as he seems to have understood the poem to be written in winter. But in the latter's case, never was there a more "mechanical" translation.

4. Dallying with the apparatus, Mg. Ba Han has missed the author of it. He was never in contact with the author. No wonder, that he failed to appreciate a genius when he preferred Shwedaung Yazagyaw to Letwèthondara.

5. U Kyin Han's article needs no serious refutation. We might however point out that his use of the word ထွန်း in the sense of ရွန်းထွက် "to protrude or shoot out" as သပ်သပ်ထွန်းမြွေများရေထဲသို့ရွန်းထွက်သည် is a new significance which the public will not accept.

S. Z. AUNG.

[This correspondence is now closed. Ed.]

WIR MENSCHEN DER INDONESISCHEN ERDE, VON RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. II. DER SINN FÜR DAS WAHRE, GUTE UND SCHÖNE IN DER INDONESISCHEN VOLKSSEELE, (Luzern : E. Haag, 1922).

In this small monograph Dr. Brandstetter continues his researches, based on linguistic and literary evidence, into the comparative psychology of the Indonesian peoples. An examination of their words for certain ethical and aesthetic concepts leads him to the conclusion that, so far as such ideas are concerned, the Indonesian mentality is on a par with that of the Indo-European.

It is needless to insist on the high competence which this learned scholar brings to bear on his theme, for that is already amply attested by all his previous work in the field of comparative linguistics. In the present case it is plain to see how much patient research and scholarly acumen have gone to build up the basis for his argument. His data are drawn from a very large number of languages (some of them very little known) and he has marshalled the evidence with all his customary skill.

The general thesis implicit in his presentation of the case, *vis.* that humanity is essentially one, is supported not merely by the evidence he adduces, but also by much else that does not happen to come within the scope of his enquiry; and, stated thus broadly, it assuredly rests upon solid foundations. At the same time, we do well, while bearing this fundamental fact in mind, to remember also the diversities of the several branches of the human family, their divergent lines of development, their different endowments in special directions, and their apparently varying capacity for the discovery and invention, and even adoption and assimilation, of the elements that go to the making of human progress. The primeval protoplasm was undifferentiated, but the evolved organisms differ to a very marked degree; and if that is true in the physical field, it should not surprise us unduly to find a reflex of it on the psychological side.

It is of the first importance to have clearly made out, as Dr. Brandstetter has done, that the common Indonesian mother tongue contained germs of words for ethical and aesthetic concepts which were closely analogous to those evidenced by ancestral Indo-European speech. But for a closer and more definite comparison certain data seem to be still wanting. We do not know, even approximately, the date of the period when the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans spoke a common tongue. It must, apparently, be pushed back at least some thirty-five centuries from to-day. Even less certain is the date of the Indonesian one, though that may well have been more recent. When we compare the two, can we be sure that we are dealing with two things that are strictly comparable? Is it not possible, and even probable, that the Indo-European stage in question had been reached a thousand or more years earlier than the corresponding Indonesian one? And would this not to some extent affect the argument?

I say nothing of subsequent developments, which are rather beside the point at issue, save to this extent, that if we regard the matter from the standpoint of the present day, it can hardly be denied that the Indo-European has progressed further than the Indonesian, and has evolved a subtler and more complex mentality, with a corresponding evolution of his ideas and the means of expressing them.

Thus much, not by way of criticizing Dr. Brandstetter's method or general conclusions (with which I venture to agree entirely), but merely as a qualification which it seems necessary to make in order that those conclusions may not seem to be out of harmony with the world as we know it. In seeking the one among the many (which has been the aim of philosophers from time immemorial), we must have a care, while affirming the essential unity, not to overlook the diversities which really exist.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A BURMESE ARCADY. BY MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ (Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd. London, 1923).

The name of Major C. M. Enriquez is well known. Anyone who can simultaneously give us two such volumes as "*A Burmese Wonderland*", and "*A Burmese Arcady*", deserves recognition and gratitude. The Major is in love with his subject. He sees and describes, often with enthusiasm, the brightest side. He writes to entertain, rather than to impart scientific information.

The object and purpose of the two books mentioned is to share with the general public, "the information gathered during three years' incessant recruiting and travel in all parts of Burma." We follow the author along the whole of the "Sino-Burman frontier." With him we visit races and localities not familiar to the ordinary traveller. His work in the interest of recruiting holds the first place, but incidentally we learn a great deal about the country, its people and its history.

We are in this review chiefly interested in "*A Burmese Arcady*." A better title would have been the heading of Chap. III, "A Kachin Military Venture." By far the greater part of the book deals with the Kachins from a military point of view. It is not a historic or ethnologic study, explaining the peculiarities of a backward race. It is only in passing that we touch on the various sides of Kachin life. The main purpose is to tell the story of Kachin recruiting; the valuable and distinguished service by these Hill-men in Mesopotamia and on the Malabar coast; the educational value of this military venture, and the recognition given to both officers and men for all they did during the great war. All this is worth recording. If we could have an extract of it in Kachin, it would be very valuable. The Chapter on the Yawyins or Lisus contains some material new to the public, and we are glad that some of these "high-landers" have shown their worth in the ranks.

The first Chapter¹ gives the summary of the generally accepted theories concerning tribal migrations in upper Burma. An attempt is made to correct the wrong impressions in vogue regarding the "Kachin tribes", but on page 24 the author himself divides the Kachins "into five main families." This is just as much a mistake as to call these families, tribes. All Kachins recognize five ruling families. Families of commoners are endless. All chiefs come from these five families. Any commoner becoming a ruler, is not regarded as a regular (*gumsa*) chief, but is a usurper, (*gumlau*) chief. Most of the chiefs in the Hukung valley are *gumlau* chiefs. A commoner ruled, say, by a Lāhpai chief has no more right to call himself a Lāhpai, than the ordinary citizen has to take the name of his Royal family; A commoner will always give the name of a chief, when it is a question how to classify his village, as the chief is the representative of the community. But no commoner, say a Lābya, ruled by a Māran chief, would ever think of calling himself a Māran. Our author thinks that no white man, and certainly no Kachin, can ever understand the intricacies of family or relationship. I wish it was so. Then the Kachins might throw away their old mixed geneologies and adopt something simpler. But to them it is wonderfully clear, and it is only the stupidity of the white man that fails to see how perfectly simple it is.

I did not expect an author so well informed to say, "the Kachins can hardly be said to have a religion at all." Animism, Spirit-, or as it really is, ancestor-worship, may be a low form of religion, but it must be called a religion. They have a recognized priesthood, sacrifices, prayers and holidays. Major E. calls the *Jaiwa* a priest. He is a religious leader, but not always a priest. Below him come the *Dumsa*, *Hkinjawng* and *Hpunlum*, all in the true priestly line. We are told that a Kachin believes that he is a "compound of a body and one or more spirits." Putting it this way might cause a blood-feud, as it might imply that he possessed a "witch-spirit", which in former times meant expulsion from the community, slavery or death. Every good Kachin is a "compound" of body (*khum*), ghost (*minla*), and the soul (*zu*), which leaves him when he dies. Only a "witch" has an extra soul (*hpyi*), dreaded by all. It is the soul (*zu*), which may return from spirit-land and become a Nat, to be feared and propitiated. Any love for the nats is difficult to find. They believe that the house-hold nats, (*gumgun gumhpai ni*), will be on their side if properly "served." If not, there is sure to be trouble. That "the spirit is immortal" is a conception that has never entered the Kachin mind. The spirit survives the shock of death, and may live, for, who knows how long, but that it will exist for ever, a Kachin will neither affirm nor deny.

Our author knows Kachin, but in some of the quotations he gives, he misses the finer points. It seems a pity to spoil the martial flavour of the translation of the couplet given on page 89:

¹ A good deal in this chapter appears to be taken from our reviewer's standard work on the subject—"The Kachins—their customs and traditions" by the Rev. O. Hanson Litt. D; Rangoon, A.B.M. Press, 1913—which, however, seem nowhere to be mentioned by name. Dr. Hanson has recently presented this book to the Society's Library. *Ed.*

Bujung bu nna nshang ke na wa, Myiba hpai nna kuhpa ye na wa; There is no urging in this to seek military glory; it is simply a pious wish that the child may grow up as a rich man able to dress in silk, and as a man of importance always afford to carry a gun. A free translation would be "May a silk skirt always gird your loins, may a gun always rest on your shoulder." On page 112 he quotes the saying, *Puklun hkrak hkrak, mam nli jahkrat*, and translates: "When the voice of the cuckoo cracks, it is too late to sow paddy." The meaning is just the opposite. It may be rendered, "At the cuckoo's call let the paddy (seed) fall" i. e. it is time to sow the paddy. The *n* before *li* is not the verbal negative, but a noun preformative; *nli* is the word for seed. On page 207 the phrase, *Asak sum mal salu ai da*, is translated, "He lost his life and melted into mist." All that the sentence says is, (It is said) he lost his life. The *salu* is not the word for mist, but a verbal particle (*sa lu*) 3rd pers. sing., Past Indefinite. (See Kachin Hand-book, page 24.) But such little mistakes are quite excusable.

The real value of the book centers around the Kachin Military Venture, and the author's estimation of the Kachins.

In regard to the military venture there can be only one opinion. It has from the first been a great success. The Kachins who thirty years ago fought the British are now their best defenders in Upper Burma. Its educational value along certain lines no one questions. But it is rather difficult to agree with the author when he says on page 78, "The army is now by far the most important civilizing agency"; or again on page 266, "No greater blessing has ever been conferred upon the Kachins than this military employment". Militarism is rather at a discount at present. We are this year celebrating the centennial of Pasteur, an infinitely greater man than the ex-Kaiser. If the Kachins are to survive, and we heartily endorse all the author says on this delicate subject, teachers, books, schools, moral and technical training must take the first place. But we will come to this subject again.

The author's estimate of the Kachins follows certain lines that have become almost stereotyped in official circles. The Military man deals only with a limited number of picked men under strict rules and regulations. When other officials travel they find the people ready and on dress-parade. Thus they seldom see the inside of things. That the rank and file of the enlisted men "are manly, honest, high-spirited and independent" is quite true, if we are not too exact in our definition of these and similar terms.

If the good Major has "never yet known a Kachin to tell a lie", others have not been quite so fortunate. They themselves have a saying, *N masu yang hpa n tsun, N lagu yang hpa n gun*, which means, "He never talks but what he lies, whatever he carries is stolen". Of course, this does not apply to every individual, but it shows that they themselves are aware that they at times do not hesitate to consult their convenience. We are told that compared with Burmans, Indians and even Europeans,

"a pleasing characteristic is cleanness of mind". I wonder if our author ever sat through an evening in the *ula dap*, listening to the love songs of the young people. It is not likely that he would understand one word in ten, but even so,—well, the large number of bastards found in every community tell the story. In ordinary conversation, however, Kachins are not smutty, and they have a fine sense of delicacy and propriety. We wonder if the author does not on page 206 put the standard a little too high for "Poor Sau Nan", who while he had "mended his way and turned Christian," was not thereby prevented "from punishing my brandy". I have seen some good Christians in other countries that never signed the pledge.

That Kachins are quick to learn, and show a certain amount of adaptability is quite true, but they greatly lack initiative. Under proper leadership (and this point our author almost overlooks), they can do fine work, but left to themselves they soon lose heart, become discouraged and ready to give up. Because they are appreciative, companionable, and have a keen sense of humour, most people like them. I know of nothing more interesting than to sit with a group of Kachins and engage in conversation around the evening fire. But in every day life they are hot-headed, indifferent, careless, with hardly any sense of responsibility, and, (this applies only to the men), lazy to exasperation. The dirt and ugliness, for which they have become famous, is negotiable. Christian Kachins look quite clean, since a part of their creed is to wash on Saturday so as to prepare for Sunday. A bath once a week is better than none at all.

As already stated, I gladly second the author's plea for checking disease among the Hills. As he truly says, "Its very magnitude should be the chief incentive". The Major has seen the wretched specimens of Kachins found in certain sections. The half-witted, deformed, blind, deaf and dumb children is a sickening sight. The number of families without children, and those that out of ten or more have seen only one or two grow up has impressed him, but he has not overstated the problem. On page 189 he mentions one case where only three out of thirteen grew to maturity. I have known others with the same pitiful record. The main reason the book clearly states, and the question is where to find the cure. That the problem is not impossible is shown in the Mission schools and Christian communities, which, for reasons easily understood, are quite free. But in addition to medicine we must not hesitate to advocate an "improvement in morals", and a change in some of their customs.

If the author by the title of the book wishes to give the impression that he is describing a country where ideal rustic simplicity and content prevails, I fear he has missed the mark. Simplicity there may be, but not of the ideal kind. The average Kachin is less content today than when he had it all his own way. Modern economic conditions press,

comparatively speaking, quite heavily upon him, and he does not know how to meet them. What a Kachin man needs to learn above everything else, is that work, good, hard, persistent work, is the only road to health and happiness. But this is a long way off.

We welcome the book. It is written in a fine, appreciative spirit. It contains many fine passages; see pages 196 and 209. I cannot refrain from quoting the following from page 195: "If people considered the suffering added to an already pain-laden world by shooting things "for fun," they would I am sure indulge less lightly in killing. Personally I am quite content with mental trophies set up from my notes and find sufficient pleasure in hunting animals and birds with field-glasses and watching them alive in all their grace and vigour." The author's praise of certain lines of Missionary work, and his appreciation of such men as Rae, Scott, Lewisohn and Captain Medd, shows that he has broad views, and can recognize the good wherever he sees it.

O. HANSON.

KSATRIYA CLANS IN BUDDHIST INDIA. BY BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M.A.,
B.L., F.R. HIST. S. (Thacker Spink and Co. Calcutta and Simla).

This is a very valuable work of historical research. It is the first work that attempts to give a systematic account of those great peoples who in early times inhabited North India and ruled their countries on republican lines. Notwithstanding all the drawbacks and difficulties in a research work of this kind the author has succeeded in presenting a historical, clear and interesting account of the Ksatriya clans. He has dived into almost all the sources available up to the present time and examined modern works which directly or indirectly touch the subject.

It seems to the author, and that not without much reason, that the republican form of government was the normal form in ancient India. A work of this kind, of both historical and political value, is especially welcome at this time when India has embarked on a parliamentary system of government, which the author seems to show is historically not foreign to the country.

The work is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the Licchavis, "a great and powerful people in Eastern India in the sixth century before Christ", and the second with other clans. Of the various forms found in Indian literature and suggested by investigators, the author satisfactorily establishes "Licchavi" to be the correct one. The light thrown on the origin of this great people is very valuable. He has refuted the theory of the late Dr. V. S. Smith who held that the Licchavis were of Mongolian origin. The theories of the late Dr. Vidyabhusan on their Persian origin, and of Beale that they were "Yuechi", have also been set aside. The author establishes that they were pure Ksatriyas of the Aryan stock.

The author shows the importance of Vaisali the capital city of the Licchavis in Indian History, not only as to its greatness and prosperity but also because "it carries, with it the sacred memories of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism". Mahāvira was a native of the city, and Buddha a frequent and honoured visitor. Indian, Tibetan and Chinese accounts agree in describing the city as prosperous, populous and happy, abounding in handsome buildings, gardens and parks. The Mahāvagga of the Pāli Canon speaks of it as "an opulent prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food; there were 7707 storeyed buildings, and 7707 pinnacled buildings, and 7707 pleasure grounds, and 7707 lotus ponds". Making allowance for the exaggerations this quotation would show the magnificence of the city, 7 being the divine number for "perfection".

The manners and customs of the people depicted are all in their favour—the beauty of their persons, their love of colour and art, their display of pomp and grandeur, and above all their great piety and honesty. They were not indifferent to higher education. Examples are cited to show the immense personal influence of Buddha over the people and how this affected them for the better. The picture on the whole is of a happy people dwelling together in unity. They were also fond of discussing philosophical and metaphysical questions, such as "What is the cause of a sinful act?", "What is Nirvana?"

The interest of the subject reaches its height in Chapter V which deals with the government and criminal justice of this wonderful people. Nothing very definite is ascertained as to the Executive, but there was a Legislature called Saṅgha or Gaṇa or Corporation, an assembly of citizens every member of which was called a "Rājā". Voting was by ballot. From the words on page 120, "the ceremony of coronation was performed when a young Licchavi *kumāra* or prince, as he was called, succeeded to the title and position of his father", it would seem that it was a hereditary house. This would raise the question of qualifications for the rajaship which the author has not touched, for on this much would depend as to the character of the state whether it was an oligarchical or a democratic republic. The author goes too far when he says that "they had already evolved an almost perfect system of democratic government and polity embodying all the latest methods of securing independence in giving votes" (page 122). Before a criminal could be punished he had to be examined in turn by four regular courts of law, and finally sentence was passed according as prescribed by the Pavenipottthaka or book recording the law and precedents.

The history of the rise to power of this people and the development of their polity would be a most useful study but unfortunately nothing is known about it. The author deals with their relations with Prasenajit of Kosala and with their neighbours the Mallas. Ajātasatru, the King of Magadha, after several unsuccessful attempts to conquer them finally succeeded in sowing seeds of discord among the Licchavis and easily subdued

them; but they retained their republican system of government. As late as the 4th century A. D. they are spoken of in connexion with the Imperialism of the Guptas.

Part II of the book deals with the other clans, the Videhas, the Mallas, the Sakyas and the minor ones. About these less is known, but the author has made an admirable attempt to unearth what he can. Much remains to be done, yet this work is not only an encouragement to researchers but a distinct contribution to the advancement of learning in general and of Indian History in particular.

It must be said that the author is inclined invariably to be favourable to the peoples in all the descriptions that he gives of them, but it may also be said that in his researches he has perhaps not come across material which would give the other side of the picture as well; e.g., What was the condition of the lower classes who are represented as having "copper towers"?

W. S. DESAI.

AN ELEMENTARY PALAUNG GRAMMAR. BY MRS. LESLIE MILNE, F.R.A.I., M.R.A.S., with an introduction by C. O. BLAGDEN M.A., (Clarendon Press, Oxford).

When the Government of Burma were asked to co-operate in the work of the Linguistic Survey of India, they declined on the ground that the "state of knowledge of the numerous languages and dialects of the province was too immature to form the basis of an accurate and an authoritative Survey." Though but little concerted effort has since been made to remedy this state of affairs it is nevertheless true that our knowledge of the various vernaculars has grown considerably thanks to Missionaries, Government Officers and other workers in various parts of the Province who have published articles and compiled Handbooks and Grammars. One of the latest and best of these is Mrs. Milne's Palaung Grammar. The book begins with a valuable introduction written by Mr. C. O. Blagden in which he discusses the relationship of Palaung to other Mon-Khmer languages. This is followed by the "grammar" or syntax which occupies 120 pages. It consists of a logical arrangement of words and prefixes with clearly stated rules for their use and numerous examples of their application. This is supplemented by a dozen pages of illustrative phrases. The book concludes with a long and interesting folk-tale which is provided with both an interlinear and a free translation. We may describe it at once as a full, compact and authoritative work. A welcome feature of the book, one which is unfortunately somewhat rare in Handbooks of the languages of Burma, is the appropriate and scientific system of phonetics which she has adopted and the rigidity with which she has employed it in the spelling of Palaung words. The excellence of the book in this respect is characteristic of it as a whole.

The Palaung language is disappearing rapidly and the Palaung people are developing the habit of regarding themselves as Shans. We must be grateful, therefore, to Mrs. Milne for having made a valuable and comprehensive record of a vanishing but interesting form of speech. Work of this sort has a permanent value. It is unlikely that it will be superseded and the book will stand, after the extinction of the Palaung language, as the authority on the subject for all time. It is a calamity that something is not now being done to construct memorials of dozens of other Indo-Chinese languages which are much nearer extinction than Palaung and which will become extinct in the course of a very few years. Work done now will last for ever in its scientific value and interest. A hundred years hence the philologist will have access to very little which we do not now preserve and perpetuate. He will, whether rightly or wrongly, set us down as sordid materialists who failed to grasp our opportunities for extending knowledge and who permitted materials of great human and scientific value to disappear unmourned and unrecorded. He will pick up Mrs. Milne's Palaung Grammar and the handful of other works of value that have been published, and will thank heaven for having informed with enlightenment and sense a few minds in that dark and self-interested generation.

T.

"A COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY OF THE PWO-KAREN DIALECT," IN TWO PARTS, BY THE REV. W. C. B. PURSER, M.A., AND SAYA TUN AUNG. (Part I. Pwo Karen-English, 171 Pages. Grammatical Introduction, 46 Pages. Part 2. English-Pwo Karen, 154 Pages. Published by the American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon. Price Rs. 2. as 8 per part.)

The student of Pwo Karen will welcome the appearance of these two little volumes. For the last ten years his guide and authority has been Duffin's 'Manual of the Pwo Karen Dialect', a work which has certainly assisted him but which has many shortcomings, particularly in its treatment of syntax, the brevity of its English-Pwo vocabulary and the total absence of a Pwo-English vocabulary. These defects are remedied in the work under notice. The student will henceforth turn to Duffin for phrases and petitions and to Purser and Tun Aung for syntax (to which nearly all writers of handbooks on Indo-Chinese languages will persist in assigning the term grammar) and vocabularies. The title "Comparative Dictionary" deserves some comment. The Rev. Purser thus explains it in his preface :-

"Like Talaing, Southern Chin, and several of the minor dialects of Burma, Pwo Karen is undergoing a process of rapid disintegration. It is splitting up into sub-dialects which are mutually unintelligible. It is absorbing such a large number of Burmese words that its vocabulary is being completely transformed. Where a Burmese word has been introduced the Karen equivalent which it displaced passes completely out of use and is unknown except to the older generation. Is it worth while preserving the

memory of these obsolete Karen words? From the philological point of view, at any rate, it unquestionably is worth while. This may not seem a very sound or convincing reason to the practical man, but it cannot too forcibly be pointed out that the field of philological research in this Province is one of immense importance, and one which has hitherto been left almost completely unexplored. ——— It is with a view to drawing attention to this side of the question that these volumes are described as a "Comparative Dictionary." The aim has been throughout to institute a comparison between the following: Tenasserim Pwo Karen, Delta Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen and Burmese. The Sgaw Karen equivalents of the Pwo words are given, without note, at the end of the definition; and it is hoped that, in addition to indicating the relationship between Pwo and Sgaw, they will enable the student to refer to the copious Sgaw Dictionary and Thesaurus and fill out the scanty definition which the limitation of space has necessitated in this work.

It will now be apparent that the "Comparative Dictionary" is not only of value to students of the Pwo Karen language but to all interested in Indo-Chinese Philology.

T.

MANDALAY TO BHAMO. BY CAPTAIN J. H. G. POWELL. (American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon. 1922)

This small guide is a maiden attempt of the author to fill a long felt want in the literature of Burma. As he remarks in his preface, though many books have been written on this country, the casual visitor is not able to obtain any which will give him the general information he requires. Captain Powell's book is small both in size and price, but he has condensed a great deal of historical and general information into its small space. A few of the illustrations are rather poor, but the remainder are good. One of the most interesting sights on this part of the river he hardly mentions, that is the people of the country. In some places he repeats himself, and perhaps goes into some subjects which would hardly interest the casual visitor, such as the fish and Beda weed; but taking it all through it is an excellent little guide and should be of great interest to the travelling public, and the tourist in particular.

E. A. W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"BASSEIN."

Sir,

I have in the course of reading various books written in European languages about Burma been puzzled by the different names which have from time to time been given to what is apparently one and the same place, namely Bassein.

A book published by the Cambridge University Press as recently as 1916 (Rawlinson, "India and the Western World") seems to accept the identification of Ptolemy's Besynga with Bassein. Temple in the Indian Antiquary for 1893 had offered evidence that the name Bassein was not found earlier than about the last decade of the 18th century and had concluded that the theory that Besynga is Bassein was thereby upset. He quoted however 16th century versions of Ptolemy in which Besynga is found. It would be interesting to know if there is any other evidence on which the more recent writer is led to accept the identification.

Ralph Fitch, the English merchant who visited Burma towards the end of the 16th century, tells us that three days after entering the bar of Negrais he came to Cosmin, "a very pretie towne." He makes no mention of any town with a name more nearly resembling Bassein, and indeed it is clear that in his time the important seaport in what we would now call the Bassein district was Cosmin. The name is frequently met with. It is found in various spellings; "Hobson-Jobson" gives Cosmin, Cosmin, Cosmyne, and Cosmi, all from the 16th century; Yule elsewhere quotes from the "cosmographic friar", Fra Mauro, the spelling Chesmi (15th century). Temple notes that Cosmin is found in a French map as late as 1825. Forchhammer identified Cosmin with the Pali Kusima, and it seems that Kusima is the "classical" name of Bassein. It may be a learned Pali appellation, formed on the basis of the vernacular Cosmin; or, again, the latter may be a corruption of the former.

Forchhammer identified the modern Bassein with Kusima, Cosmin, and Kuthein, and said the last was the name of the town on the lips of Burmans until Alaungpaya changed it to Puthein. To him Cosmin (or Cosmin as he prints the name in his "Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma") was apparently the Portuguese spelling of the Burmese Kuthein. But in the Journal of the Burma Research Society for 1917, in an article entitled "Some Mon Place Names", I find that the probable derivation of Cosmin is from two Talaing words, *kaw* and *smin*, meaning "island" and "king". If this is correct, how is the modern Talaing name of Bassein, which is Pasem, to be explained? How is the change from initial *k* to initial *p* to be accounted for? Temple gives examples of this change in Burmese; but his examples are not convincing chiefly because they are scanty, and besides, are they relevant if

we assume that the words in question are Talaing ? (Temple shows that initial *p* cannot here be due to Alaungpaya's liking for innovations in nomenclature.)

But perhaps Cosmin and Bassein are two places. "Hobson-Jobson" tells us that they appear thirty or forty miles apart on Wood's map of 1796, but adds evidence which suggests that Wood may here have wrongly distinguished two places which are in fact the same.

The form Persaim which we meet with in 18th century documents is evidently, like Bassein, a European spelling of the word which the Talaings call Pasem and the Burmese Pathein. Does Persaim represent the word as Europeans heard it from the lips of Talaings and Bassein as they heard it from the lips of Burmese?

The town perhaps gains an added interest by the fact that in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1921 M. Ferrand discusses the possibility of its identity with a place called in Chinese histories Po-sseu, and usually supposed to be Persia.

Perhaps in what I have said above regarding Cosmin and Bassein, I have drawn attention to a confusion of my own making rather than, ^o as well as, a real puzzle. I shall be all the more grateful if your reader ^s will enlighten me.

Yours faithfully,
W. G. FRASER.

P.S.—Temple in his article on Bassein (*Ind. Ant.* XXII page 19 footnote) says that in maps of 1720 he finds "Lunon" close to "Dogon". And he adds: "If this is "Rangoon" the received tale falls." Is any reason to doubt the received tale known to your readers?

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE RACES OF BURMA.

SIR,

It is intended to supplement the Handbook on the Races of Burma, now being prepared for the Adjutant General, by a photo album showing, as far as possible, all the types found in the country. The collection will remain as an album, as the cost of publishing so many illustrations would be prohibitive. Still, it will be of value.

Obviously, the collection can only be made if people from all parts will kindly contribute illustrations. Most of us have cameras, and collections of films; and I write to engage your interest and cooperation. If you have taken pictures of types, and will let me have copies, I shall indeed be grateful; and the collection will be on view any time in my office.

Those contributing are requested to observe the following points :- Photos should be of types in national dress, either head & shoulder, full length, or in groups. One print of each photo will suffice for our purpose. For the sake of uniformity unglazed prints in black and white are preferred. The name of the tribe, and locality should be written in pencil on the back. Pictures of the same race, but from different localities, are desired. Thus it is hoped to show, for instance, the Lisu in all his variations from the Southern Shan States to Putao. Very special assistance is desired from those who reside, or have resided, in obscure, but ethnologically rich areas, like Putao, the Shan States, and the Arakan, Chin, Kachin and Karen hills.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have so liberally responded with local information for the text of the Hand-Book.

Yours truly,

C. M. ENRIQUEZ, MAJOR,

Recruiting Officer, Mandalay.

THE HISTORY OF ARAKAN.*

Dear Sir,

The history of Arakan is a very difficult proposition. After many years of patient research I have come to the conclusion that nothing much can be done regarding our early history until excavations are undertaken at the ancient sites of Diññyawaddi and Wesali. The native records do mention a good deal of those far off days; but their bare statements can hardly be accepted in the absence of evidence which must be both direct and corroborative. From 1400 A.D. onwards I believe it possible to write a connected and reliable account of the country from materials that are fairly extensive. In addition to a large collection of historical Mss. we also have a plentiful supply of inscriptions and coins covering almost the whole of this period. The Portuguese came into this country in the 16th century and left behind records which are intimately associated with the social and political history of Arakan. In one of his letters to me the Rev. Father Hosten of the St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, the learned annotator of Portuguese and Spanish records, states that many volumes might be written on Arakan and Pegu alone..... In the circumstances the most I can do for the Society is to give a bibliography of works which will be of much assistance in the proper study of Arakanese history. The list is attached

Yours sincerely,

SAN SHWE BU.

*A reply to a request for information about the origins of Arakanese history —Ed.

EUROPEAN AND OTHERS

- 1 History of Burma, Phayre.
- 2 History of the Portuguese in Bengal, Campos.
- 3 The Portuguese in India, Danvers.
- 4 Decada 13 da Historia da India, Antonio Bocarro.
- 5 Asia Portuguesa, Faria y Sousa.
- 6 Ptolomy's Geography, Gerini.
- 7 The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, transl. by H. Cogan, gentleman, with introd. by A. Vambéry (abridged) London, 1891.
- 8 History of Bengal, Stewart.
- 9 History of Bengal (in Bengali), 2 Vols.
- 10 History of Dacca *do*
- 11 History of Assam, Manipur and Cachar, Gait.
- 12 Bengal Past and Present, Vol XIII, Pt II, No. 26 and subsequent issues.
- 13 Studies in Mogul India,, Sarkar.
- 14 India at the death of Akbar, Moreland.
- 15 The Voyages of...to the East Indies, van Linschoten, edited by A. C. Burnell and A.P. Tiele, London; Hakluyt Society, 1835, 2 Vols.
- 16 The Travels of Ludivico di Varthema (1503—1508), edited by G. P. Badger, London, Hakluyt Society, 1863.
- 17 A new account of the East Indies, Capt A. Hamilton, London, 1744, 2 Vols.
- 18 Narrative during a tour to Chittagong, Pogson, Serampore Press, 1831.
- 19 Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Maurique in Arakan (1629—35) transl. from Spanish by Father Hosten S.J.
- 20 Journey of Father A. Farinha S.J. from Dianga to Arakan (1639—40). See Catholic Herald of India, Calcutta, 1907.
- 21 Historical account of discoveries and travels in Asia, Vol II, Hugh Murray.
- 22 A Voyage to Surat in the year 1687, London, 1696, J. Obington.
- 23 Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales (1658—65), Gautier Shouten. Contains an excellent account of Arakan (Vol I, pp: 194—311).
- 24 A history of Indian shipping and Maritime activity from the earliest times, R. Mookerji.
- 25 Travels in the Mogul Empire, Bernier.
- 26 Mogul Administration, Sarkar.
- 27 Intercourse between India and the Western World from the earliest times to the fall of Rome, H. Rawlinson.

N.B. This list is not exhaustive.

ARAKANESSE AND BURMESE MSS.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Mahayazawin. By Maung Kala. | 15 Adoo E. |
| 2 Mhannan Yazawin. | 16 Wesali Minthami Ratu. |
| 3 Konbaungset Yazawin. | 17 Uggabyan Ratu. |
| 4 Razadarit Ayedawpon. | 18 Razapôn Linga. |
| 5 Razagro Chronicle. | 19 Sasana Vamsa. |
| 6 Maharazawin. By Nga Me. | 20 Mañi Ratanapôn. |
| 7 Maharazawin. By Do We. | 21 Bruha Nyaunggan. |
| 8 Rakhaing Razawin. | 22 Sananga Bruha Kyan. |
| 9 Kyakhwet Razawin. | 23 Shwebôn Nidan. (Arakanese) |
| 10 Thwanzet Thamine Razawin. | 24 Mroon pre-hlwe E. |
| 11 Sagaw-Khan Razawin. | 25 Arakanese Loka Nidi Kyan. |
| 12 Nga Lat Rone Razawin. | 26 Diññyawaddi Ayedawpôn. |
| 13 Min Si-ni Razawin. | 27 Sandara Phwè. |
| 14 Wizaya Sit-aung E. | 28 Athannine Mawgwan. By Nawade |

N.B.— Besides the above there are numerous other historical fragments of varying importance.

A PROFESSORSHIP OF FAR EASTERN HISTORY.†

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that at the first meeting of the newly constituted Board of Studies in History I intend to move the following motions :—

- (a) "That this Board recommend to the Senate that a Professorship of Far Eastern History be created in the University of Rangoon." and
- (b) "That this Board recommend to the Senate that in the event of the University creating a Professorship of Far Eastern History the chair shall exist primarily for research work in the History of the Far East with particular reference to the History of Burma and of Burmese relationships with the outside world."

Under the existing constitution of the History Courses we have as yet no course of Far Eastern History though we have two courses of Burmese History, viz for the Intermediate Examination and for the Honours Examination for the degrees of B.A. and M.A. We have also on the history staff of the University no teacher sufficiently qualified to teach either Far Eastern History or Burmese History. The teaching of such a subject cannot be undertaken by any man in addition to the very complex combination of subjects that each teacher has necessarily at present to cope with. Far Eastern History is a specialist subject in itself : it demands a technique entirely different from that demanded by any other branch of History. Such a technique, I am of opinion, can only be developed by either a research student or a student who is in touch with all the research at present being carried on by scholars in many parts of the world. Such a man in either case must possess a good working knowledge of at least the Burmese and Chinese languages, as far as Far

† This letter, originally addressed to members of the Board of Studies in History, Rangoon University, was forwarded by Professor Hall to the Burma Research Society with a request for publicity. The Committee resolved that it should be published in the *Journal-Ed.*

Eastern languages are concerned, and of at least French and Dutch of the European languages.

That the University of Rangoon needs such a post and such a man is to my mind a foregone conclusion. Burma is on the fringe of the Far East; her history touches the main thread of Far Eastern developments at many stages. These are very imperfectly and inadequately shown in her own chronicles. If Burmese History is to be rightly treated, it must be explored very widely from Chinese, Cambodian and Siamese sources in addition to the already existing Burmese and Indian ones. A great work of analysis and synthetic coordination is necessary, and in doing this the work of a large number of modern scholars, especially French ones, will have to receive minute attention. Until this is done Burmese History cannot be taught or written in anything approaching the proper way. We in the University of Rangoon ought to lead the way in this matter, and we ought to start at once. We can only do this in a satisfactory manner by the institution of a research professorship. The appreciable and direct results of such an institution will not at first be particularly marked, so immense will be the task of collecting and digesting the vast amount of existing material, but future generations of Burmese historians, historical scholars and and public-spirited citizens will applaud our action as wise and timely. I do therefore most strongly recommend that the University be pressed to take action as soon as possible in this direction. There exist in Burma or connected with Burma qualified men who are already considerable scholars in this subject. If they are offered reasonable conditions and good prospects it would, I am confident, be possible to obtain the services of a man who, as a result of the increased opportunities, time and scope given him as a research professor, would prove to be an ornament to learning not only in this Province but in the greater world of Far Eastern historical scholarship in general.

Until such action is taken by the University the Burmese History Courses laid down in our regulations must remain pious aspirations unrealised and unrealisable. We have neither reliable books to give to our students nor teachers to promote the study of the subject in a critical, intelligent and reasonably up-to-date style. If we are to foster higher education amongst the Burmese nation we must certainly not neglect its history. But we must write it and teach it not from the too strictly local point of view of the various Burmese and other Yazawins. Its connection with the outside world, and especially with the Far East and India must be continually emphasised. Particularly must we bring to bear the methods of the best modern historical criticism upon this subject. In doing so we shall be doing a great service to the Burmese nation, and one, indeed, of great political importance for the future.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) D. G. E. HALL,

CHAIRMAN,

Board of Studies in History, Rangoon University

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the 5th Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 22nd January 1923.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esq., D. Sc., C.I.E.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq. I.C.S.

L. F. Taylor, Esq. I.E.S.

U Tun Pe

G. H. Luce, Esq. I.E.S.

S. G. Grantham, Esq. I.C.S.

Saya Thein.

Maung Ba Kya

W. G. Fraser, Esq. I.E.S.

1. The minutes of the 4th meeting of the Executive Committee were confirmed.

2. Resolved that the Annual General Meeting be held at University College on Friday 9th Feb. at 6. 30 p.m.; and that a paper by Mg. Tha Kin entitled "Depressed Classes in Burma" should be read. Draft reports of the Hon. Secretary & Treasurer, and Hon. Editor & Librarian were approved for the Annual Report.

3. Resolved that Prof. Hall's letter regarding the need for a University Research Chair in Far Eastern History should be printed in the Journal.

4. Resolved that the Hon. Secretary should ask the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society for further information regarding relations between that Society and its branches.

5. Resolved that the form in which the Oxford Press propose to publish the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin is approved. The book in proof was laid on the table for inspection.

6. Resolved to appoint a sub-committee consisting of U May Oung & U Tun Pe, with instructions to co-opt two more members, for the purpose of judging entries in Competitions A & C.

7. Recorded letter No. 3741-2 I 21 dated 4th December 1922 from Private Secretary to Sir Reginald Craddock.

8. Recorded letter No. 448 2 I dated 15th January 1923 from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.

9. Recorded letter dated 7th January 1923 from Mr. C. W. Dunn.

10. Recorded letter dated 28th December 1922 from Messrs. Probsthain.

RNGOON.

The 26th January 1923.

W. G. FRASER.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee, held at the Bernard Free Library at 8 a.m., the 28th January 1923.

Present.—U Po Byu (in the Chair), U Tin, A.T.M., K.S.M., U Po Sein, Saya Pwa, Saya Lin, Mr. W. G. Fraser, Saya Tun Pe and Mr. G. H. Luce.

1. The Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Sub-Committee held on 29th September 1923. were confirmed.

2. A suitable cover for the Owadahtu Pyo and for the series generally was designed and the Joint Honorary Secretaries were asked to arrange for its execution. The sale price for Owadahtu Pyo was fixed at 6 annas per copy.

3. Resolved that a recommendation be made to the Committee that Saya Yait be permitted to publish the text of Devagonban Pyazat as edited by U Tin, A.T.M., K.S.M., at his own risk; provided that the edition does not exceed 2000 copies, and that a second edition is not to be published without the consent of the Burma Research Society.

4. Resolved to postpone the publication of Mingla Thok Pyo for further consideration.

5. Recorded the letter of Pyi Gyi Mundine Pitakat Press with regard to the delay in publishing Maung Kala Yazawin.

6. Item 4 of the agenda.—The report in question not having been received, it was impossible to deal with this item.

G. H. LUCE

TUN PE

RANGOON.

JOINT HONORARY SECRETARIES,

The 30th January 1923.

Text Publication Sub-Committee.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting was held at University College on the 9th February 1923, Dr. Hunter, C. I. E., President, in the chair. The following were present :—Mr. & Mrs. Grantham, Messrs. J. S. Furnivall, J. Mackenna, H. Clayton, G. R. T. Ross, L. F. Taylor, A. Brookes, Po Sein, Saya Thein, Tun Pe, D. H. Peacock, J. H. Sewell, A. Khalak, M. S. Collis, S. P. S. Iyer, J. Lazarus, Ba Kya, G. H. Luce, W. G. Fraser.

The President called upon the Honorary Secretary & Treasurer to read the Annual Report which was passed unanimously.

The report was as follows :—

At the end of 1921 there were 434 members on the roll, of whom one was the Patron, 5 were Corresponding Members, 53 were Life Members and 375 were Ordinary Members. During the year the Patron resigned on his departure from Burma, and he was then elected an Honorary Member. 1 Corresponding Member, 1 Life Member and 8 Ordinary Members died. 14 ordinary members resigned and 65 were deemed to have resigned. 24 new members were elected, all ordinary members. The roll members at the end of 1922 were therefore as follows :—

Patron	(office vacant)
Honorary Members	1
Corresponding Members	4
Life Members	52
Ordinary Members	312
	<hr/>
	369

This total is 65 less than the total of last year, and requires some comment. During the years 1920 & 1921 as a result of a special appeal over 300 new members were elected. A considerable number of these never paid any subscription to the Society and a number who paid for 1920 paid no further subscription. The committee had no alternative but to deem these members to have resigned. Some members have regarded the payment of a year's subscription as a year's subscription to the Journal: they have not felt themselves permanently attached to the Society. It is to be hoped that all the members now on the roll are paying and permanent members. The total of members is still more than double the total at the beginning of 1920. One of the first duties of the new committee will be to consider methods of obtaining new members who will be likely to give the Society steady support.

During the year the Society has lost by resignation its Patron, Sir Reginald Craddock, who took much interest in the Society and presided at one of its meetings. The general committee has elected him an Honorary Member, a compliment which he very much appreciated. The Society has lost by death a Corresponding Member, Mr. J. E. Bridges, who was in great measure responsible for the interest taken in the Society

by members who have arrived from England in recent years; also Mr. D. M. Gordon, a Life Member since 1910, and two other members since 1910, namely, Dr. T. F. Pedley and U Tha Ka Do, K. S. M. By the death of U Chit Maung, President of the Kyaukse Academy, the Society lost one of its keenest supporters.

MEETINGS.—Two meetings of the Society were held, viz, (1) the Annual General Meeting on the 10th February 1922 when a paper by Mr. L. F. Taylor entitled "Ethnological and Philological Research in Burma, & South East Asia" was read; (2) the meeting on 14th July when the Rev. R. Halliday read his paper on "The Mons in Siam." These meetings were well attended. Other meetings would have been held but suitable papers were lacking.

The Executive Committee met five times, and the Sub-committee three times during the year.

TEXT PUBLICATION SUB-COMMITTEE.—Two meetings were held during the year. The Owadahtu Pyo, edited by U Po Sein, is on the point of publication by the Pyigyí Mundyne Press, Rangoon; specimen copies are laid on the table. The translation of the Hmannan Yazawin is in final proof (a specimen is also laid on the table), and will shortly be issued by the Clarendon Press. Members will be able to obtain this volume at the reduced rate of Rs. 5 per copy, through the Honorary Secretary; and they are urged to book their orders in advance. The editing by Saya Pwa of Mingalathok Pyo, and by U Tin, K. S. M. of Dewagonban Pyazat, is completed; but the publication of these texts has not yet been taken in hand. The publication of Maung Kala's Yazawin, as edited by the Burma Research Society, has been undertaken, at its own risk, by the Pyigyí Mundyne Press. The first volume, dealing with Burmese history down to the fall of Pagan has been edited by Maung Ba Kya, and is only awaiting the leisure of the press for publication. The Society desires to express its grateful thanks to the editors of these works for so generously devoting their time and pains to the difficult task of preparing texts for publication; and it trusts that other Burmese Presses will follow the good example set by the Pyigyí Mundyne Press in offering to publish texts prepared by the Society.

One of the chief difficulties which has delayed the issue of several of the above works, is the complicated problem of Orthography. Burmese scholars on the sub-committee are far from unanimous on this point; and the result has generally been a compromise. It is feared that until a profound study has been made of the changes and vagaries of Old Burmese spelling, it will be impossible to produce texts final in this particular. But this will be the work of years; and meantime it seems more immediately important to get rare works in print, even though their orthography may require subsequent revision.

The Text Publication Fund has at present Rs. 500 in hand, including five donations of Rs. 100 each by five members. The Society appeals to its members, and to the public generally, to offer further donations or periodic subscriptions, whether for the general use of the fund, or for the publication of special texts.

THE JOURNAL.—Four issues of the Journal have appeared during the year under report, and a fifth (Vol. XII, Part II) has just been published. During 1921 there was only one issue, so that the Journal is still one number behindhand; but there should be no difficulty in bringing it up to date during the current year.

None of the Journals issued during the past year, was illustrated. The Editor regrets this, and hopes that contributors will not imagine that there is any reluctance to include illustrations; on the contrary he believes the Society would welcome them.

One of the numbers awaiting publication is devoted to a Mon history, with text, translation and notes by the Rev. R. Halliday. The Editor intends in future to alternate the usual kind of Journal, containing miscellaneous articles, with numbers devoted each to one subject. It is thought that this may encourage some members to attempt research on a rather larger scale than hitherto, since it will offer an alternative method of publication to the expensive one of producing a book. It is hoped that members will approve the experiment.

The Editor would be grateful if some members would volunteer their services in reviewing books and periodicals for the Journal, in particular works in Dutch and German, and in any of the vernacular languages of Burma and the Shan States.

THE LIBRARY.—At the conclusion of the year, the number of volumes in the Library, excluding unbound periodicals, was 832. Rs. 370 was spent in purchase of books and periodicals and on binding, and the expenditure of an additional Rs. 500 was sanctioned by the Committee. This has not yet been spent, but orders are being despatched shortly. The library is at present being rearranged and the books re-numbered on a decimal system. Valuable books have been presented to the Library during the year by the Talaing Press, Paklat, Siam, by Mr. Justice U. May Oung; Prof. Maung Tin and others. During the year arrangements for exchange of publications were completed with the following:—

- (1) Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Vienna.
- (2) Djowo, the Java Institute, Java.
- (3) Amis du Vieux Hué, Hanoi.
- (4) Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

A number of important works by French & Dutch scholars on Far Eastern research have been purchased. The Library however, though useful, is still far too small; it does not contain a tithe even of important books written on Burma; and the Society is always grateful for offers of books, including Burmese books, dealing with Burma or the East generally.

OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY. (1) The Honorary Librarian was nominated representative of the Society on the proposed Governing Body for the Bernard Free Library.

(2) At the suggestion of the late U Chit Maung a competition for works in Burmese was announced in the newspapers; prizes to the value of Rs. 125 were offered by U Chit Maung, Rs. 50 by U May Oung, and Rs. 50 by the Society. This competition closes on February 28th 1923.

(3) A Taungthu MS. is being prepared for publication under the direction of U Shwe Zan Oung.

OFFICERS.—The President, Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary & Treasurer held office throughout the year. The offices of Joint Honorary Editors were held by Mr. L. F. Taylor and Maung Ba Kya until the publication of Vol. XI Part II of the Journal; thereafter they were held by Mr. G. H. Luce & Maung Ba Kya.

FINANCES.—The year opened with a balance of Rs. 12,856-8-6 and closed with a balance of Rs. 14,215-11 in favour of the Society. Sales of the Journal brought in Rs. 320-4-6, chiefly through the agency of Messrs. Probsthain in London. Donations to the Text Publication Fund of Rs. 100 each were given by U May Oung, U Po Byu, U Shwe Zan Aung and Mr. Luce. This fund now amounts to Rs. 500, Rs. 100 having been given in 1921 by Maung Tin. The cost of printing the Journal was comparatively high but this was due to the fact that 4 issues were paid for during the year. In 1921 only Rs. 95/4 was shown against this head of expenditure, but in 1922 the amount was Rs. 2,920. The employment of the present press has enabled the society to effect a considerable economy in printing charges.

During 1923 the Society will have to pay for the publication of the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin; the cost of printing alone is estimated at close on £ 160. Your committee hopes that expenditure on this account will be speedily recovered by sale of the volume, which ought to attract all members of the Society, oriental scholars throughout the world, and not a few general readers.

The following statement is an analysis of the credit balance of the Society:—

Government 10 years 6 % Bonds	Rs. 4,500	0	0
Deposits in Upper Burma Central ...			
Co-operative Bank at $7\frac{1}{2}$ %	....	3,000	0 0
Post Office Cash Certificates	...	1,937	8 0
Balance at Bank on 31st December ...			
1922 as per pass-book		4,876	9 0
Cash in hand	...	11	10 0
		<hr/>	
	Rs. 14,325	11	0
Deduct amount of cheque issued,			
not yet paid by Bank		110	0 0
		<hr/>	
	Rs 14,215	11	0

The meeting then proceeded to the election of office bearers for 1923. Dr. Hunter proposed and Mr. Fraser seconded Mr. J. S. Furnivall for the office of President. This was carried unanimously and Mr. Furnivall then took the chair. He announced amidst applause, that H. E. the Governor had agreed to become Patron of the Society. He also spoke eulogising the services of Dr. Hunter to the Society and regretting that in view of his approaching departure from Burma, he was compelled to to relinquish the office of President. He said that Dr. Hunter was an original member of the first committee appointed in 1910 and had been a Vice President from 1910 to 1916. From 1916 he had been President of the Society and in that period the Society had made great progress financially and the number of members had largely increased. The Society owed a heavy debt to Dr. Hunter and it was proposed that his name should be submitted to the General Committee for election as an Honorary Member on the occasion of his retirement. (Applause). Mr. Furnivall also congratulated Dr. Hunter on the well earned honour which had been conferred on him by the University of Rangoon. Dr. Hunter briefly replied, thanking Mr. Furnivall and the Society.

The election of the remaining office bearers was then proceeded with. They are as follows :—

OFFICERS.

Mr. Justice May Oung	} Vice - Presidents.
U Po Byu	
J.A. Stewart, Esqr., I.C.S.	
W.G. Fraser, Esqr., I.E.S., Honorary Secretary & Treasurer.	
G.H. Luce, Esqr., I.E.S., Honorary Editor.	

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

J.J. Nolan, Esqr.,	C.M. Webb, Esqr.,
A.P. Morris, Esqr.,	S.G. Grantham, Esqr.,
U Tin, K.S.M.,	K.M. Ward, Esqr.,
L.F. Taylor, Esqr.,	U Tun Pe,
Dr. Ross,	A. Cassim, Esqr.,
U Po Sein,	U Tha Tun Aung,
C.W. Dunn, Esqr.,	J. MacKenna, Esqr., C.I.E.,

Dr. M. Hunter.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

J.L. McCallum, Esqr.,	U Ba E,
G.E. Harvey, Esqr.,	C.E. Browne, Esqr.,
U Thein,	U San Shwe Bu,
Major Enriquez,	C. Duroiselle, Esqr.,
U Kyaw Dun,	U Shwe Zan Aung,
Taw Sein Ko, Esqr.,	A. Rodger, Esqr.,

Mr. Luce then read a paper by U Tha Kin, Pleader, Pyapon, entitled "Depressed Classes in Burma". The paper was listened to with keen interest and provoked a lively discussion in which Messrs. Clayton, Collis, Ross, Tun Pe, Ba Kya and Grantham took part. The speakers, while, keenly appreciative of U Tha Kin's paper, were doubtful whether the existence of depressed classes in Burma, comparable with those of India, had been proved. It is hoped that other writers will contribute information on the subject. The paper will be printed in the Society's Journal. At the call of the President a hearty vote of thanks was awarded to U Tha Kin for his paper and to Mr. Luce for reading it.

This ended the proceedings.

On the table were proof copies of the Owadahtu Pyo and the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin which are being published by the Society : and also the first proof of the Maung Kala Yazawin which is being published by the Pyigyí Mundyne Press. A number of orders were booked in advance for copies of the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin. Members should make early application for copies which will cost them Rs. 5 each. The book will also be for sale to the general public at an enhanced rate.

List of Recent Additions to the Library.

- Indische Palaeographie von circa 350 A. Chr —circa 1300 P. Chr.
with a portfolio of plates, by G. Bühler.
- The Religious Quest of India, by J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griswold.
- Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, by G. K. Nariman.
- Elements of Siamese Grammar, by O. Frankfurter.
- A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the
Malay Archipelago (A. D. 671—695), by I Tsing, translated by
J. Takakusu.
- Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, von Albert Gruenwedel.
- Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, by Rājendralāla Mitra.
- Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan, by C. A. Bell.
- Sanskrit-English Dictionary, by Sir M. Monier-Williams.
- Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam, von Karl Döhring, 3 Vols.
- English-Tibetan Dictionary, by Lama Dawasamdup Kazi.
- English-Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary, by C. A. Bell.
- The Lalita-Vistara; or memoirs of the early life of Śākya Siṃha,
translated from the original Sanskrit by Rājendralāla Mitra,
Fasciculus I—III.
- Bibliographie zur Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen
Buddhismus und Christentum, von Dr. Hans Haas.
- Buddhism—a list of references in the New York Public Library, by
Ida A. Pratt.
- Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from
the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, by Samuel Beal, 2 vols.
- Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma (1), by C. Duroiselle.
- Compendium of Philosophy, being a translation of the Abhidhammat-
tha Sangaha, by Shwe Zan Aung, and revised & edited by Mrs.
Rhys Davids.
- Manual of Indian Buddhism, by H. Kern.
- Fà-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, by J. Legge.
- Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus, by Hans Ludwig Held.
- A Vocabulary of the Tromowa Dialect of Tibetan spoken in the
Chumbi valley, by E. H. C. Walsh.
- The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. VIII, Part III.
- Journal Asiatique, Vol. XX, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Indian Antiquary, December 1922, & January 1923.
- Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute. 1921—22, Vol. IV, Part 1.
- Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series,
Vol. XVII—1921, No. 4 & Vol. XVIII—1922, Nos. 1 & 2.
- Journal of the Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society, No. 86, Novem-
ber 1922.
- Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XVI, Part I.
- Djává, December 1922, No. 4.

Journal of the East India Association, January 1923, No. 1.
Mandalay to Bhamo, by Capt. J.H.G. Powell.
A Burmese Wonderland, by Major C M. Enriquez.
A Burmese Arcady, by Major C M. Enriquez.
The Expositor (Atthasālini), Vol. I, translated by Prof. Maung Tin.
The Kachins, their customs & traditions, by Rev. O. Hanson, Litt.D.
Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western
Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921.
Rupam : a journal of oriental art, No. 12 (October 1922)
Maha tuttha wutti Thibaw Onbaung Yazawin kyan gyi (Shan Ms.)

LIST OF MEMBERS (Dec. 31st—1922)¹.

*Life member.

†Corresponding member.

‡Honorary member.

- *Adamson, Sir Harvey, c/o India Office, London.
 Ainley, C. W., M. A., Lecturer, University College, Rangoon.
 Aiyar, N. C. Krishna, M. A., University College, Rangoon.
 Aung, U Shwe Zan, B. A., A. T. M., Deputy Commissioner, Thaton.
 Aung, U Tha Tun, B. A., 2nd Addl. Judge, Court of Small Causes, Rangoon.
 Aung, Maung Kyaw Za, S.D.O., Kyauktaw (Akyab District).
 Aung, Maung Lun, Asst. Govt. Translator, Rangoon.
 Aung, Maung Tun, Hony : Magistrate, Nandawya Quarter, Sagaing.
 *Ba, Maung, A. T. M., Income-tax Assessor, Mandalay.
 Ba, Maung. (4), B.A., K.S.M., District and Sessions Judge, Ma-ubin.
 Ba, Saya, B. A., A. T. M., F. C. S., Lecturer, University College, Rangoon.
 Bah, Maung, Rice Miller, Payagale-upon-Kyaiklat Stream, Kyaiklat.
 *Ban, Maung Shwe, *Bar.-at-Law*, 15, York Road, Rangoon.
 Barretto, Miss E., Principal, V. B. Girls' School, 57, Canal Street, Rangoon.
 Barretto, Wm. L., E. A. C., Silverdale, St. John's College, Rangoon.
 Barton, C. S., Bombay Burma Trading Corporation, Ltd., Pauk (Pakokku).
 Baw, U Hla, I. S. O., K. S. M., District and Sessions Judge, Myaungmya.
 Baw, U Htoon, Hony : Magistrate, Akyab.
 Bhomeah, H. M. E., 263, Dalhousie Street, Rangoon.
 Bigg-Wither, Lieut-Col. F., V.D., I.A., Deputy Commr. (on furlough).
 Bilimoria, J. C., B. A., *Bar.-at-Law*, University College, Rangoon.
 Bishop, F., Manager, Burma Oil Co., Dannedaw.
 †Blagden, C. Otto., 57, Earl's Court Square, London, S. W. 5
 Bo, Maung, Western Subdivisional Magistrate, Mandalay.
 Bodeker, F. W. T., Burma Forest Service, Katha.
 Bon, Maung Gun, Dy. Myook, Lashio, N. S. S.
 Brookes, A., I. E. S., University College, Rangoon.
 Brough, Joseph, Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Central Branch, Rangoon.
 *Brown, G. E. R. Grant, c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, London.
 Brown, H. A., I. C. S., *Bar.-at-Law*, District and Sessions Judge, Mandalay.
 Brown, R. R., I. C. S., Deputy : Commissioner, Pakokku.
 Browne, C. E., I. S. O., Loi-an, Kalaw, S. S. S.
 Bu, Maung Mya, *Bar.-at-Law*, Asst. Govt. Advocate, Rangoon.
 Bu, Maung San Shwe, Teacher, Govt. High School, Akyab.

¹Members are particularly requested to inform the Hon. Sec. of any change in their address.

- Ba, Maung Ba, Excise Inspector, Myanaung.
 Bw, U Po, K. S. M., F. R. C. I., Myaungmya.
 Byu, U Po, 14 Pagoda Road, Rangoon.
 Calvert, F. E. R., Asst. Commandant, B. M. Police, Myitkyina.
 Campbell, A., University College, Rangoon.
 Cardot, The Right Rev. Bishop A., Vicar Apostolic of Southern
 Burma, Rangoon.
 *Carr, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, W., I. C. S., Addl. Judge, High Court,
 Rangoon.
 Carroll, E. W., Imperial Forest Service, c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook &
 Son, Rangoon.
 Cassim, A., B.A., University College, Rangoon.
 Cassim, M., Hd. Master, Govt. Normal School, Akyab.
 Chambers, W.P.C., Messrs. Steel Bros., Pyinmana.
 *Chit, U Po, A.T.M., S.D.O., Yamethin.
 Chye, Chin Khay, Pleader, 44, 22nd Street, Rangoon.
 Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S., "Underwood", Maymyo.
 Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E., Financial Commissioner, Rangoon.
 Cleburne, J., St. H., District Superintendent of Police, Katha.
 *Cochrane, R. A., Divisional Forest Officer, Katha.
 Collis, M.S., B.A., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Sandoway.
 Cooper, C. R. P., "Garden Reach", Maymyo.
 Cooper, R. E., Supdt., Agricultural Society of Burma, Rangoon.
 *Couper, T., M.A., I.C.S., (on furlough).
 †Craddock, The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry, K. C. S. I., I. C. S.,
 Crawford, Prof. R. N., M. A., Judson College, Rangoon.
 *Cuffe, Lady, "Leyrath", Kilkenny, Ireland.
 Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. E., M. A., D.D., Henzada.
 Dacca University Library, Dacca.
 Darne, Rev. Father A., Military Chaplain, Roman Catholic Cathedral,
 Mandalay.
 Darwood, J. W., 77 Merchant Street, Rangoon.
 Davis, C. K., Land Officer & Secretary, Rangoon Development Trust,
 Rangoon.
 Dawson, L., *Bar.-at-Law*, Pyapon.
 Desai, W. S., University College, Rangoon.
 de Silva, Thos. P., c/o Messrs. Harperink, Smith & Co., Rangoon.
 Din, U Min., K. S. M., T.D.M., D.S.P., Toungoo.
 Doe, U Ah, *Bar.-at-Law*, Akyab.
 Dok, Saw Pan, B. A., Jr. Asst. Regr., Co-operative Societies, Mandalay.
 Dok, Teik Tin, R.E.O., Dalla,
 Douglas, W., University College Rangoon.
 Drysdale, Rev., J. A., M.A., "The Manse," Signal Pagoda Road,
 Rangoon.
 Dun, U Kyaw, K.S.M., Nyaung Waing Road, Thaton.
 Dunn, C. W., B.A., I.C.S., Maymyo.

- Duroiselle, Ch. M.A., Supdt., Archaeological Survey, Mandalay.
 E, U Ba, B.A., A.T.M., K.S.M, S.D.O., Kyauktan, (Hanthawaddy).
 *E, Khoo Soo, Merchant, 3A, 23rd Street, Rangoon.
 Edmonds, Rev. F.R., Christ Church, Mandalay.
 Enriquez, Major C.M., Divisional Recruiting Officer, Mandalay.
 Ewing, Capt. R.R., I.A., c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Rangoon.
 Fraser, W.G., M.A., University College, Rangoon.
 *Furnivall, J.S., M.A., I.C.S., Commissioner of Settlements & Land Records, Burma.
 Fyffe, The Right Rev. R. S., Bishop of Rangoon.
 Gale, Maung, Asst. Supdt., Mong Mit, N.S.S.
 Gale, U Maung, Asst. Judge, Shwebo.
 Gates, G.E., Judson College, Rangoon.
 Gerrard, W. M., Engineer, Messrs. Steel Bros. & Co., Ltd, Bassein.
 Gilmore, Rev. D. C. Judson College, Rangoon.
 Ginwala, P. P., *Bar.-at-Law* 70, Phayre Street, Rangoon.
 Glay, Maung Lu, Senior Law Instructor, Burma Provincial Police Training School, Mandalay.
 Gon, Maung Ba, Supdt., Copying Department, High Court, Rangoon.
 *Grantham, S. G., B.A., I.C.S., Supdt., Census Operations, Burma.
 Green, Capt. J. H., I. A., Kachin Unit, Maymyo.
 Gye, The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Maung, *Bar.-at-Law*, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma.
 Gyi, Maung Maung, Supdt. of Land Records, Nadine Cottage, Insein.
 Gyi, Maung Maung, M.R.A.S., Inspector of Excise, Mandalay.
 Gywe, U Aung, A. T. M., Township Officer, Letpadan.
 Hall, Prof. D. G. E., M.A., F.R. Hist. S., I.E.S., University College, Rangoon.
 †Halliday, Rev. R., Mount Pleasant, Moulmein.
 Han, Maung Ba, M.A., Govt. Translator (on furlough).
 Han, U Kyin, T. D. M., Deputy Supdt. of Police, (Retired), 21 Creek Street, Rangoon
 Harvey, G.E., M.A., I.C.S., Maymyo.
 Heath, C. J., D.S.P., Minbu.
 Hindley, Gordon, c/o Messrs. Steel Bros. & Ltd., Mepal, *via* Moulmein.
 Hla, Maung, B. A , Extra Asst. Commissioner, Toungoo.
 Hla, Maung Aung, B.A., (1), District and Sessions Judge, *Thayetmyo*.
 Hla, Maung Ba, Supdt. of Land Records, Insein.
 Hla, Maung Kyaw Zan, 1st. Additional Judge, Court of Small Causes, Rangoon
 Hlaing, U Po, Retired Treasurer & Advocate, Myingyan.
 *Hlaing, Maung Po, Township Officer, Tilin. (Pakokku)
 Hlaing, Maung Tun, Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Magwe Division, Mandalay.
 Hman, Maung Gon, Township Officer, Papun.

- Holme, H.B., B.A., I.C.S., Director of Industries, Burma.
Homer, C. J., Ex: Engr: , P.W.D., Maymyo.
Houldey, J. E., B. A., I. C. S., (on furlough)
Howard, R. L., Principal, Judson College, Rangoon.
Htein, Maung, B.A., Junior Asst. Registrar Co-operative Societies, Mandalay.
Htoon, Maung Tha, Banker, Akyab
Hunter, Sir John Mark, M.A., D. Litt., I.E.S.
Hunter, M., M.A., D. Sc., C. I. E., F. R. G. S., Principal, University College, Rangoon.
I, Maung, Asst. Judge, Tharrawaddy.
Iyer, S. P. S., Corporate Accountant & Public Auditor, 29 B, Lewis St. Rangoon.
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Jan, M. A., Advocate, Merchant Street, Mandalay.
Jones, Rev. B.M., Pegu.
Jones, T. Martin, c/o Burma Railways, Toungoo.
Joseph, A. V., Timber Merchant, 12 Phayre Street, Rangoon.
Josif, Rev. Geo. D., M.A., Principal, Baptist Normal School, Rangoon.
Jury, Rev. G. S., Judson College, Rangoon.
Kan, Maung. Sub-Judge, Nyaunglebin.
Kanangoe, C., Pali Lecturer, Judson College, Rangoon.
Kay, R. G., Engineer, Messrs. Ellermans Arracan Rice & Trading Co., Ltd, Dawbong Mill, Rangoon.
Keith, A. D., B.A., *Bar-at-Law*, Mason's Building, 35th Street, Rangoon.
Keith, The Hon'ble Mr. W. J., M.A., I.C.S., Member of Executive Council of the Governor of Burma.
Khalak, A., St. John's College, Rangoon.
Khin, Capt. H. Aung, Indian Station Hospital, Meiktila.
Khine, U Kyaw, Pleader, Akyab.
Kin, The Hon'ble Mr. Maung, Member of Executive Council of the Governor of Burma.
Kin, U Tha, Pleader, Pyapon.
Kin, U Thein, B.A., A.T.M., F.C.S., Asst. Chemical Examiner to Government, Burma.
*Ko, Taw Sein, C.I.E., "Peking Lodge," West Moat Rd., Mandalay.
Kya, Maung Ba, B.A., Asst. Pali Lecturer, University College, Rangoon.
Kyaw, Maung, B.A., Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Moulmein.
Kyaw, Maung Ba, (2) *Bar-at-Law*, K. S. M., Rosebank, Insein.
Kye, U Po, S.D.O., Mingin. (Upper Chindwin).
Kyin, Maung Ba, Advocate, Yenangyaung.
Kyu, U Shwe, Retired Judicial E. A. C., Pyu. (Toungoo)
Kywe, Maung, (1), Circle Inspector of Police, Zigon.
*Lack, Major L.H.A., I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, Myingyan,

- Lander, A. J. M., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. A. Scott & Co., Rangoon.
 Lat, Maung, Asst. Supdt., Census Operations, Burma.
 Latt, U Ba Pe, Supdt., S. T. Thippan Institution, Poozoondaung.
 Lazarus, Dr. J., L.M.S., Civil Asst. Surgeon, General Hospital, Rangoon.
 Lees M. L., I. C. S., Subdivisional officer, Maymyo.
 Lightfoot, S. St. C., Taunggyi
 *Lin, U We, B. A., K. S. M., I. E. S., Inspector of Schools, Bassein.
 List, J. N., c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son Rangoon.
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